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COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MANDATES WORK ON FREE DAYS

AU262200 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] An expanded plenum of the Council of Ministers was held today. Comrade Todor Zhivkov participated in the work of this plenum and made a detailed statement.

Expanded measures were adopted at the plenum to compensate for the shortcomings in the first 3 months of the year and for ensuring 1985 plan fulfillment and the 5-year plan period tasks as a whole.

The ministries, departments, and executive committees of the people's councils, as well as the leaderships of economic organizations and enterprises, are entrusted with the task of creating with the cooperation of trade union organs, an efficient organization and full mobilization of the workers collectives for the most effective utilization of labor resources and reserves discovered in the counterplans in order to ensure the total implementation of the tasks mapped out for this year.

Particular importance is attached to the timely fulfillment of the plan on the basic indexes upon which the balances of the country depend, overcoming the consequences stemming from the drought in agriculture, the transition to two-and three-shift work in the construction sector, and the production of more and higher quality goods and public services to satisfy the needs of the population.

Special attention was devoted at the plenum to the improvement of production quality, the achievement of the norms for increasing labor productivity envisaged by the plan, the reduction of material expenditures, and the improvement of fund investments in 1985.

In conformity with the decisions of the February and March BCP Central Committee Plenums, the Council of Ministers submitted the task of establishing a strict organization for accelerating the introduction of highly efficient scientific-technological achievements, and for the prompt implementation of the tasks and subjects of scientific-technological progress submitted to research work, in view of obtaining the economic effects expected from them. For this purpose the incentives envisaged by the economic mechanism should be introduced. It is envisaged that enterprises and economic organizations that do not fulfill their plans should work, as of 1 April 1985, on one of their free days of the week, as long as the shortcomings that have seen allowed to occur since the beginning of the year have not been compensated for. The branch ministries, the departments, and the scientific-technological institutes, as well as the engineering and planning organizations, will have to adopt this regime of work, and the same applies to other organizations and employees of the people's councils, as long as they have not overcome their shortcomings in the fulfillment of plans in the respective branches and systems.

The functional ministries and departments, as well as other departments and organizations from the nonproduction sphere will also work on one of their free days as long as the shortcomings in fulfillment of the total national economic plan have not been overcome.

In this connection attention was drawn to the necessity of creating conditions for normal work and for an efficient use of working time, by ensuring better material-technical supply, timely implementation of agreed-upon deliveries, as well as a perfection of internal labor organization within every enterprise, every agro-industrial complex, and every brigade.

The leaderships of ministries and departments, of economic organizations and enterprises, as well as the executive committees of okrug people's councils are obliged to adopt measures for a decisive improvement of the style and methods of work and for an efficient, operational solution to emerging problems, for the liquidation of the manifestations of bureaucratic methods, for increasing discipline, strictness, and a sense of responsibility of cadres at all levels, for the fulfillment of all tasks on schedule.

BTA REVIEWS 1984 CEMA COOPERATION SUCCESSES

AU260908 Sofia BTA in English 1205 GMT 25 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (BTA) -- In 1984 the C.M.E.A. countries continued their intensive and stable-rate economic development in 1984 despite the considerably complicated international situation and the adverse climatic conditions, indicates Prof. Stefan Sharenkov in todays RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

Dwelling in detail on the fresh socioeconomic progress made by the C.M.E.A. member countries throughout the year, Prof. Sharenkov accentuates the importance of the collective strategy mapped out at the 1984 Moscow summit.

The growth in national income and material production, achieved by all socialist community countries, was greater as compared with the annual average figures registered in the preceding three years of the five-year plan. Thus, the author of the article emphasises, not only was the tendency of slackening rates overcome, but stable and dynamic economic growth was achieved which is a guarantee for the successful fulfilment of the socioeconomic targets set for the current five-year period.

The article points out that Bulgaria has raised her national income by 4.6 percent in 1984. The volume of industrial production was 4.5 percent up in one years time.

The successes which the C.M.E.A. countries have scored over the year have resulted from the more comprehensive mobilization of latent reserves and from the more rational utilization of the intensive economic growth factors and of the advantages of the socialist community, from the transference of techno-scientific advances and from the raised efficiency of public production, the article says. Approximately 90 per cent of the industrial production growth has come from increased labour productivity.

In 1984 The C.M.E.A. member countries have continued to translate into reality the line of intensification of social production and of raising its efficiency by means of accelerated techno-scientific progress, the transference into practice of scientific achievements and of advanced experience, the improvement of planning and management methods in the national economy, the tightening of labour and state discipline.

Bulgaria has solved 8,330 techno-scientific problems with a total spin-off effect of more than 1 billion leva says Prof. Sharenkov.

He also points to the substantial results achieved in the consolidation of the energy and raw material basis of the individual branches, in the sparing use of energy, raw materials and feedstocks, in lowering the energy and material intensity per unit of social product.

Last year the C.M.E.A. member countries have ensured a further rise in their peoples living standards. Over the last year workers and cooperative farmers have seen their incomes grow considerably, public funds have increased along with the allocations to education and health care, better conditions have been provided for work and recreation. Bulgarias population have received a 2.7 per cent increase in their real incomes.

The C.M.E.A. member countries have also registered a substantial expansion in their reciprocal commercial exchange, which comprises now nearly 58 per cent of their overall trade. In all countries the growth rates of the reciprocal exchange of goods have been higher than those of the overall foreign trade turnover.

In conclusion Prof. Stefan Sharenkov notes that during the year the C.M.E.A. member countries have persevered in their consistent policy of expanding cooperation with all capitalist countries, of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, on the promotion of international cooperation among all countries in the world as the material basis of peaceful co-existence and of a strengthened world peace.

STOICHKOV DEPARTS FOR MOSCOW CONSTRUCTION TALKS

AU271116 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Mar 85 p 8

[Text] Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of construction and territorial-settlement organization, departed for Moscow yesterday, where he will participate in the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the activities of Bulgarian construction workers groups on USSR territory in the construction of oil and gas industrial plants, heavy machine building, and the metallurgical industry sectors.

Comrade Grigor Stoichkov will have talks on the question of expanding and intensifying cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the field of construction, building industry, mechanization and technical equipment, as well as in scientific-technological progress in the construction sector for the 1985 period, and the forthcoming 5-year plan period.

BOZHINOV DEPARTS FOR BERLIN CEMA SESSION

AU271043 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of energy and raw material resources, departed for Berlin today. He will participate in the 19th session of the CEMA committee on cooperation in the sector of material-techical supplies.

TANCHEV RECEIVES INDIAN CONGRESS (I) OFFICIAL

AU271419 Sofia BTA in English 1237 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Excerpt] Sofia, March 27 (BTA) -- Today Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council, received Mr Shrikant Verma, general secretary of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress (I) Party.

He familiarized the guest with the brotherly interaction between the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian Union in the victory over fascism and in the construction of n life in country, as well as with the active international activities of the Bulg n Agrarian Union. Satisfaction was expressed with the promotion of the traditional friendly contacts between the Agrarian Union and the Congress (I) Party, which help consolidate the cooperation between Bulgaria and India.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Zhivkov Meets Indian Guest

AU271924 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 27 (BTA) -- Today Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council received Mr. Shrikant Verma, secretary general of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress (I) Party.

The main topic of the talks were the Bulgaro-Indian relations and the prospects of their development.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed that the contacts between the two countries are traditional and stressed the great contribution of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in this respect. We will promote our friendship with India, he said.

Later, Mr. Shrikant Verma met Mr. Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture. The talks discussed Bulgaro-Indian cultural cooperation.

LEADERS' PUBLIC APPEARANCES REPORTED 17-23 MARCH

AU231850 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 17 to 23 March, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parantheses).

Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, attended a plenum of the Georgi Kirkov organization on propagation of scientific knowledge, which took place in Sofia (1000 GMT 20 Mar).

Kiril Zarev, BCP Central Committee secretary, attended a session of the Committee for Labor and Social Work, which took place in Sofia (1830 GMT 20 Mar).

Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and Committee on Culture chairman, took part in a meeting of the Organizational Committee of Amateur Arts, which dealt with preparations for cultural events marking anniversaries. The meeting took place in Sofia (2030 GMT 21 Mar).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee member and Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, took part in a meeting in Vratsa dealing with the progress of construction at Kozloduy nuclear power plant (1830 GMT 22 Mar).

DEFENSE MINISTER COMMENTS ON VISIT TO USSR

AU250941 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Mar 85 p 5

[Excerpts] Moscow-Prague (CTK) -- Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, returned from his 5-day official friendly visit to the USSR yesterday.

Minister Milan Vaclavik granted an interview to the correspondents of CTK and the paper OBRANA LIDU at the conclusion of his official friendly visit.

Question: How do you appraise the results of your visit to the USSR?

[Vaclavik] First of all, I would like to say that I received the invitation to visit the USSR -- a country to which we are bound by deep relations and ardent feelings -- with great joy. I am glad that my first trip abroad led me to our closest friends and allies.

In the course of the visit we have met outstanding party, state, and military representatives of the USSR. I set great store by the reception by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Sokolov, USSR minister of defense; by Vasiliy Kuznetsov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukranian Communist Party Central Committee. We had the opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the results that are being achieved by the Soviet people in fulfilling the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and with the activity of members of the Soviet Army in ensuring the defense of their fatherland and of socialism. For the mutual meetings and talks with the Soviet comrades, we have acquired new knowledge and experience, new stimuli for further building our Army and for enhancing its all-round preparedness.

I would like to emphasize our deep satisfaction about the consistency with which the conclusions on the unity of building and defending socialism are being realized in the USSR. This fact is particularly significant in the present period, when the danger of imperialist aggression and the threat to peace and socialism have emphatically increased.

We feel great respect for the gigantic effort exerted by the CPSU and the Soviet people for consolidating the security of the socialist community and for systematically enhancing the USSR's defense ability and the combat strength of the Soviet Army. All this has a substantial influence on the development of the situation in the world, and represents the guarantee that imperialism will not succeed in carrying out its plan to weaken the Warsaw Pact member-states and to acquire military supremacy over them.

Question: Your visit has taken place in the period of the Soviet people's intensive preparations for celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. We in our country are preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation fight of the Czechslovak people and of the CSSR's liberation by the Soviet Army. Did these facts influence the course of your visit?

[Vaclavik] Our entire stay in the USSR were borne by the spirit of these significant events in the modern history of our nations. We have expressed the Czechoslovak people's gratitude to the USSR to its Communist Party, and to the glorious Soviet Army for our liberation, and for all that they have done for our fatherland and for the whole of progressive mankind.

We have assured our Soviet friends that our people will guard the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, cemented by the jointly shed blood, like our most precious possession. Particularly now we realize more than ever before the historic truth that alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR are the guarantees of all our certainties; that they fully correspond to the most basic interests of our nations and to the interests of consolidating the unity of the socialist community. Today our people are fulfilling, by their creative work in realizing the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and in fulfilling the tasks of the final year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the legacy of the national liberation struggle and the legacy of their liberators. They are contributing to the further upsurge of their country, to the consolidation of its defense ability, and to the fight of all progressive mankind for preserving peace.

Question: Wherein do you see the contribution of your USSR visit to the CSSR Army?

[Vaclavik] The visit has proved, above all, that the combat friendship and cooperation between our armies continue to deepen and improve. This fills us with real joy. We greatly appreciate the fact that, in ensuring the defense of our fatherland, we can rely in all our activity on the glorious Soviet Army and draw on its rich experience.

As the most significant result of the visit for the CSSR Army I regard the fact that it will contribute to yet closer mutual cooperation, to the perfection of the standards of combat and political preparation, combat readiness and preparedness of the CSSR Army; and to achieving further successes in preparing for the defense of the fatherland and of socialism.

The visit took place on the eve of the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact. In this connection, we have been able to express our resolve to do everything to make the Czechoslovak People's Army continue as a firm and reliable link of our fraternal international military-political union.

CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS MSZMP CONGRESS

LD272357 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Hungary -- A message from the CPCZ Central Committee sent to the 13th MSZMP Congress says:

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Communists and working people of the CSSR, we send you, the delegates to the 13th congress and the MSZMP Central Committee, the party members, and the whole fraternal Hungarian people, cordial greetings and best wishes for a successful congress.

The 13th congress has convened at an important time, when the whole of Hungary is prepared to celebrate in a dignified way the 40th anniversary of its liberation by the glorious Soviet Army. It is therefore natural that in assessing the implementation of the tasks set out by the previous congress, a simultaneous review will be made of the whole period of socialist construction. As your closest friends and comrades, we, together with you, are glad at the success achieved in Hungary in putting into effect socialist reforms under the leadership of the MSZMP in close cooperation with the USSR and with the other socialist countries.

In 4 decades the face of Hungary has changed completely, as has its position in the world. The Hungarian People's Republic today is an advanced socialist state with a developed industry and agriculture, and a rich political, cultural, and social life.

Its international prestige and authority has grown. It takes a large part in the development of fruitful cooperation with the countries of the socialist community in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

We congratulate you from our hearts on these important achievements. We wish your party and the whole Hungarian people great success in implementing the program of the 13th MSZMP Congress, which will set out new and challenging tasks in building your socialist society. In your efforts for the further blossoming of your country, you can always count on the wide support of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

We are proud to inform you, the message from the CPCZ Central Committee continues, that in our country, too, the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation fight of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of the CSSR by the Soviet Army is being welcomed by the consistent implementation of the strategy of building a developed socialist society in accordance with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. Proof of the correctness and successful implementation of this strategy is the broad support for the policy of the CPCZ by our people, the results achieved in our national economy, science, culture, and other fields, our high living standard, the firm certainties and prospects for all our citizens, and the all-round development of the peoples and nationalities of the CSSR.

We realize that the liberation of the CSSR was achieved at the cost of immense heroism and sacrifices by the Soviet people, and that our socialist life today was born out of wide fraternal cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states.

Aware of its responsibility, the CSSR will continue to make an active contribution to enhancing the cohesion of the community of socialist countries, and together with democratic and progressive people the world over, it will continue to work to solve the most important issues of the present day, namely the preservation of peace and averting the danger of nuclear war. It will spare no effort in the struggle to reduce international tension which has become heightened as a result of the adventuristic policy of the most reactionary imperialist circles, especially American imperialism, that are trying to extend the arms race into space too.

It will resolutely rebuff the attempts by the forces of revanchism and certain government circles in the Western states to call into question the achievements of the anti-fascist struggle and the postwar organization of Europe. The CSSR sides with those nations that are fighting for their liberation, for social progress, and against all forms of imperialist interference.

Dear comrade delegates, on such an important occasion as the 13th MSZMP Congress, we would like to express our satisfaction at the successful development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. A great contribution to their enhancement is the conclusions of the regular meetings between our supreme representatives, Conrades Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar.

We are deeply convinced, the message concludes, that the firm bonds and close cooperation between the CPCZ and the MSZMP, the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, will continue to develop to the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian people, the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement, and the fight for peace and socialism.

'NEW CRITERIA' FOR Z-PROJECT APPROVED

AU271241 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Preparation of New Election Programs"]

[Excerpts] We will soon be evaluating the fulfillment of National Front programs in the 1981-85 election period. The good works that have embellished our towns and villages and that are the fruit of citizens' assiduous collective work are not few in number. Mistakes and shortcomings have also occurred, no doubt, in some places. The forthcoming analysis will, after all; show all the essential lessons to be drawn from this important, nationwide endeavor to fulfill the election programs.

On 14 March, the CSSR Government approved the "Principles for Drafting the National Front Election Programs for the 1986-1990 Election Period." A subsequent session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium voiced full support for this document. In preparing future election programs, the main role will again be played, above all, by the efficacy and cost efficiency of the planned projects, the application of research and development, and the harmony between society's interests and the local needs of the people.

The Z-project [community self-improvemnt program] will continue to represent an important part of the election programs in 1986-90. The citizens' participation in the fulfillment of pledges is not only a contribution to society, but the created values also markedly improve the standard of living of the population of our towns and villages. In the last few years, the Z-project has become for the absolute majority of localities in our country the decisive way of meeting rapidly and well the individual needs of citizens. It is these well-tried experiences that form the basis for the orientation of the Z-project in the years to come and for the changes in organizing, financing, and planning it.

In tackling exacting but socially necessary projects to improve the environment, the Z-project continues to count, above all, on the help of citizens and, naturally, also with the help of local enterprises, cooperatives, and organizations by pooling their resources and activities. What sort of projects do we have in mind? Sewage disposal plants, water treatment plants, controlled refuse dumps, water and sewage pipes, and installations for acquiring nontraditional sources of energy. The second important area will be the construction and renovation of institutions of health and social care. This includes hospitals, health centers, the expansion of in-patient capacities, departments for the chronically ill, nursing homes, and facilities for outdoor health care [zarizeni terenni pece]. The further development of services and, above all, the endeavor to improve their accessibility, will not remain on the sidelines of interest; the network of service shops and collecting points, stores, and shopping centers will continue to expand. The construction of new, or the renovation of old schools and educational facilities for young people also deserves special attention, as to worthy premises for clubs, youth and pioneer houses, meeting rooms for young technicians, gyms, and inexpensive play-grounds and sports grounds, especially as part of city housing developments.

These are the new criteria by which the Z-project will be guided in the next election period. They did not come about suddenly, nor by accident. This is confirmed by the experiences acquired by some national committees so far and, in particular, by the efforts to improve the living environment in towns and villages. In many places it will be difficult to determine what exactly is the most important thing for the citizens in that specific locality.

The correct procedure here would be for the national committees to thoroughly examine all proposals, taking into account the needs of the majority of citizens, to discuss them with the citizens and, finally, to set a binding list of priorities in such a way that they form an all-embracing program for the comprehensive development of that particular territory.

RUDE PRAVO CITED ON LUDWIGSLUST INCIDENT

LD281120 Prague CTK in English 1031 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Prague March 28 (CTK) -- An incident involving an officer of the U.S. military mission in Potsdam gathering espionage information on a Soviet military installation near Ludwigslust, GDR, arouses the question who is to be served by acts trampling on adopted agreements, RUDE PRAVO asked today.

"The tragic result of the affair is regrettable, but at the same time it is an accusation of those American circles which are behind such espionage actions, grossly violating respective international agreements, this time a 1947 agreement on military liaison missions."

The paper noted that those who sent the U.S. major and his aide with an espionage task must have been aware of the risk. They now want to make those who are not willing to play their game of blackmail responsible for the loss of life.

The Springer reactionary press and other papers of big capital have used the tragic event as a welcome tidbit. Trying to persuade the readers that the "circumstances of the events remain a mystery", they are starting a new version of their notorious anti-Soviet slanders, the paper wrote.

Meanwhile, U.S. Army representatives have admitted that the U.S. military liaison mission in Potsdam does gather secret information. THE WASINGTON POST noted that Major Arthur Nicholson really was one of the most capable experts in Soviet affairs who could speak Russian and conducted several actions "behind the Iron Curtain" where he collected data on the Soviet Army.

"Deciphering these words poses no difficulty and it is up to everyone to draw his picture of the background of the affair."

"M. or Nicholson did not return from his latest 'brave action'. Those who led his steps have now struck off in cold blood his name from their lists and with characteristic cynicism have been fuelling an anti-Soviet campaign that they actuall inspired. However, they should not forget that no line can silence the truth forever and that he who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind", RUDE PRAVO stressed.

COMMENTARY VIEWS KAMPELMAN'S 'STRANGE BEHAVIOR'

LD271605 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] The foreign policy commentary in RUDE PRAVO, entitled "Strange Behavior", deals with the speech by Max Kampelman, leader of the American delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons. The commentary recalls that over the last few days Max Kampelman has been urging congressmen to approve the billions of dollars proposed by President Reagan for more intercontinental MX missiles. It is alleged that he received an order to return from Geneva to persuade congressmen that unless the military potential of the United States is increased it would be impossible to achieve disarmament. After meeting with the President, Kampelman said that the MX missiles are necessary to ensure success at the Geneva talks.

Jan Kovarik, author of the commentary, points out that, after arriving in Geneva, Max Kampelman made no secret of the fact that he would walk out of the talks at Reagan's bidding, if the U.S. policy of negotiating from a position of strength has no hope of succeeding.

His Washington speech, coming at the very opening of the Geneva talks, can hardly be regarded as a goodwill gesture; indeed, it resembles a rescuer who, instead of holding out a hand to the main in distress, tramples all over his face.

Strange behavior indeed, and a bitter revelation for those who believed the U.S. declaration that it would adopt a constructive attitude at Geneva, the commentary concludes.

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH SFRY -- This year the exchange of goods and services between the CSSR and the SFRY will amount to more than 1.6 billion clearing dollars; thus the overall turnover of their foreign trade in the year 1981-85 will amount to about $7 billion in clearing accounts. [Summary] [Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Mar 85 p 2 AU]

TRADE OFFICIAL STEPS DOWN -- At the 11th plenary meeting of the Czech Trade Union Council, held in Prague on 21 March, Ladislav Pinos "war relieved at his own request from the post of member of the Presidium of the Czech Trade Union Council." [Summary] [Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Mar 85 p 1 AU]

SPD BEGINS INITIATIVE TO SETTLE BORDER ISSUE

AU261336 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Kiel (ADN) -- The border between the FRG and the GDR in the Elbe section between Schnackenburg and Lauenburg runs along the middle of the river, according to an expert's report by the political scientist Dieter Schroeder. With a study made public over the weekend and compiled by the scientist on behalf of the Social Democrats of Schleswig Holstein and Lower Saxony as well as the SPD Bundestag Parliamentary Group, the SPD wants to start a new intitiative on settling the border issue, a report from Kiel states.

According to the report by Schroeder, the course of the border between the two German states is, in contrast to the view of the government and the CDU Governments of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, by no means the northeastern bank of the Elbe. In his study on the border along the 93.7 kilometer-long Elbe section between the British and Soviet zone drawn by the allies after 1945, Schroeder arrives at the conclusion: "The corresponding British authorities held the view that as a result of agreement and practice the middle of the river forms the border." This interpretation is also binding for the Federal Republic, Schroeder's report states.

It is not the task of the border commission to determine the border but to establish it, Schroeder states. In accordance with old provincial and land borders, the border runs "automatically in the middle of the river." For other stretches, special British-Soviet regulations were arranged in 1945. In an instruction dated 5 July 1945, British authorities "instructed the Hamburg water protection police responsible for the Elbe section to keep to the south side of the Elbe (western bank)." The British side tried to make an agreement with the Soviet side on a border course along the eastern bank," but this agreement did not come about," the report states.

According to the British view the middle of the river was the border between the zones. Deviating depictions "were not approved by the responsible British control authorities," the political scientist writes.

HONECKER, SED CC GREAT 13TH MSZMP CONGRESS

AU261329 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has addressed the following congratulatory message, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to the 13th MSZMP Congress that will open the morning of 25 March at the new Budapest Congress Center:

Dear men and women comrades, the SED Central Committee conveys fraternal militant greetings to the 13th party congress and to all MSZMP members.

It is with pleasure that we note on the occasion of this outstanding event that the fraternal Hungarian people under the leadership of their combat-tested vanguard, the MSZMP, have achieved significant successes in building a new system, a socialist social system. Far-reaching political and social changes have taken place in the short time in history since the liberation of the Hungarian people from Hiltlerite fascism by the glorious Soviet Army. Proof of this is the socialization of the means of production, creation of an efficient industrial system and socialist agriculture according to plan, and the safeguarding of full employment.

The establishment and consolidation of the inviolable power of the people, the development of socialist democracy, the rallying of all working people around the party, and the enhancement of material and cultural living standards have basically transformed the complexion of Hungarian society.

The Hungarian People's Republic, as a reliable member of the socialist community of states, today enjoys great international prestige. We most cordially congratulate the communists of your country on these successes.

Joint traditions of many years standing as well as Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have linked the revolutionary workers movement of our two countries. Fraternal cooperation between the SED and the MSZMP, and the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic will be successfully expanded in all fields and is developing with good results for the well-being of man.

Closely linked with the CPSU and the country of Lenin, united by the Warsaw Pact and by CEMA, our two fraternal states are working to solve the extensive tasks of socialist construction and to strengthen the positions of socialism in the world. In view of the danger of a nuclear inferno resulting from the imperialism of the United States and NATO, it is important to act even more vigorously and to strengthen and mobilize the forces of reason and realism on all continents in the effort to secure peace, the most important task of the present.

The communists and all the people of the GDR are using all their strength to comprehensively strengthen the German worker-peasant state as a reliable bulwark of peace and socialism and to prevent a war from ever again emanating from German soil. It is in this spirit that we are paying tribute to the legacy of the Soviet soldiers, of the resistance fighters, and of all forces that contributed to the victory over Hitlerite fascism and to the liberation of our people. We regard as our international obligation the purposeful work of the party and working people for the further successful development of the GDR as a politically stable and economically efficient socialist state, a development that is receiving vigorous new incentives in preparation for the 11th SED Congress.

Dear men and women comrades, we wish the 13th MSZMP Congress a successful course, and we wish the communists and all working people in the Hungarian People's Republic new successes in socialist construction for the benefit of our common cause of peace and socialism.

BRIEFS

RESEARCH COOPERATION WITH USSR -- On 12 March Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology, received in Berlin Aleksandr Kamenev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, who is staying in the GDR for negotiations as head of a Soviet delegation of experts. They discussed tasks on deepening research cooperation, concentrating particularly on questions of flexible automation in the machine-building sector. The Soviet delegation will also visit the Leipzig Fair. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 85 p 7 AU]

REPORTAGE ON 13TH NATIONAL MSZMP CONGRESS

Grosz Speech

LD261725 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Mar 85

[Text] After the joint debate on the Central Committee and Central Control Committee reports, Karoly Grosz, first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee spoke.

In his introduction he reported to the congress, on behalf of nearly 224,000 communists in the capital, that the Budapest party organizations thoroughly prepared for the congress, and the main finding of the debate was that the communists of the capital identify with the party's political goals and the political line it has been pursuing for several decades in a determined manner, and which is constantly being renewed. Now, when we are trying to find new methods in several areas of building work, our party membership note with satisfaction that the party and its Central Committee stand everywhere at the head of the processes of renewal. Karoly Grosz stressed that the communists of Budapest support the party's leadership in its shaping of the directions of future actions, in its search for new paths. He stated that during the last 5 years the capital has developed dynamically, and significant achievements have been made. He continued his speech as follows:

[Begin Grosz recording] In the period dealt with by the report, the living conditions of the Budapest population improved noticeably. Child care, health, public utilities, transport, and commerce have reached an adequate standard. At the same time, despite our efforts, the picture is not so bright in the area of housing. Despite the fact that the housing shortage has been eased significantly, qualitatively speaking, we still have more than 10,000 claimants on our files who, at current prices, have the minimum hope of obtaining a dwelling of their own. The number of housing claimants in the capital is, by the way, over 60,000. In the capital, more than 50 percent of dwellings available for distribution have been given to young married couples; this is a larger share than the proportion of these people. It has become a big problem, however, that for young people starting their careers, obtaining a house demands a disproportionately greater financial outlay than before.

We hope the local support that was recently introduced will ease the tensions. We support the increase in the proportion of state-owned apartments, the building of which is laid out in the draft resolution. At the same time, we see a need for the development of a support system for homeless people who are unable to achieve the standard dwelling size.

During the past few years it has become a factor causing political tension that in Budapest there are large numbers of pensioners who have no way either of supplementing the rising cost of living or passing the costs on to someone else. This is why they welcome the endeavor of the draft resolution to raise law pensions and to gradually guarantee the maintenance of the purchasing power of pensions. To sum up, I can say that in Budapest we achieved most of our fundamental sociopolitical goals in the past few years, but we could not achieve them completely. The living conditions of the capital's residents improved in the most justified areas of society, but there is a significant number of people whose living standards we did not manage to preserve.

There is strong confidence in the party. Our population recognizes the fruits of our economic construction work. They see our efforts, but at the same time social tensions have increased. Our experiences show that the real resource of the Hungarian economy that can be mobilized easily is the creative and active man. I consider the activities of about 200,000 people of the technical intelligentsia outstandingly important. Even the most carefully manufactured product of the best skilled worker cannot be marketed

if the product profile is inadequate, if the operation is uneconomic and the amount of materials used is unduly large. This is not the workers' fault. The execution of tasks involved with technological development falls on well-qualified specialists with a creative spirit and a sense of responsibility.

In my opinion too, many people these days blame the lack of means for the fact that the technical standard of our machines falls a long way behind the international standard. All this is true, but the quality and modernity of products manufactured with them shows that we are not making the most even of our existing possibilities.

This depends on intellectual preparedness, work organization, on the incentive system, and on work ethics and work discipline. During the past four decades the relative financial situation of the technological intelligentsia has deteriorated. In 1938 the average income of technocrats was 3 times that of skilled workers, while today it is ony 1.3 times that of skilled workers. Some surveys show that engineers in employment reach the average wage of skilled manual workers at the age of 53, and do not reach the average wage of skilled workers carrying out complicated tasks even at the age of 60.

The international trends, that the proportion of intellectual effort in the production of individual goods is increasing, are also characteristic of domestic industry. The recognition of creative technocrats has been devalued in our country despite this. Another warning sign is that among areas of work employing the technical intelligentsia, it is the situation of the technical intelligentsia in industrial enterprises that has developed most unfavorably. While, according to international statistics, in economically developed countries income differences among blue collar workers were reduced, in our country this process took place between blue collar and white collar, especially technical people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the social status and attraction of technical careers has fallen substantially. However, even more worrying is the fact that the enthusiasm of technical staff for production has fallen. Their interest, therefore, is directed toward sources of income outside their full-time job.

Only one third of engineers participating in small ventures do proper engineering work. It is, therefore, very important to provide material recognition to the technical intelligentsia on the basis of their work. Enterprises must also become interested in this. The question may arise: From what material sources can the higher incomes of technical staff be secured? It is my conviction, even though I know that the possibilities available to enterprises are extremely varied, that by a more differentiated execution of wage increases at enterprises, material means can be found in most cases. For this, however, another form of approach and practice is needed, both among leaderships and in the working collectives.

The Budapest Party Conference adopted a stance that in the coming 5-year plan the major share of the distributable wealth should be devoted to accumulation, and within this to technological development. What we consider a task of equal ranking is the utilization of existing modern technology, the modernization of technology, and the enforcement of technological discipline.

However, we consider a determinedly differentiated development desirable. In our country even badly managed economic units want to grow and with central support, on the basis of property relations. Neither the economic manager nor the party activist, barring a few exceptions, wants to consider scaling down or especially winding up an existing enterprise. If we cannot resist this effort we are allowing our already limited resources to be fragmented. In this area, therefore, more determination and, I shall use the phrase, socialist compulsion, is needed. We support, therefore, the demand

of the published draft resolution that states that a radical turnaround must be achieved in making production economic or curtailing production that is uneconomic and permanently loss-making.

It is not enough to recognize the phenomenon; a program is also needed for the execution of the task and a social climate for its acceptance. In the formulation of the latter, a decisive role is played by the party movement. We should be prepared for potential political conflicts. I can state that we are ready for this. In the future also, we shall carefully weigh local interests and will only support those that serve the interests of the whole of our society.

You would be right to ask why a party worker speaks so much about the situation of the technical intelligentsia and about technological development. In my opinion, it is because this is not only a professional issue but also an extremely important political problem; first and foremost, because without giving momentum to the economic domain we will be unable to resolve social tensions, but also because it is in Budapest that the large number of the technical intelligentsia live. Another reason is that within the general fall in the number of the work force it is in Budapest that the fall of the work force in industry was the greatest. [end recording]

Karoly Grosz, first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, then spoke about the government in the style of work of party organizations, about the struggle against formalism, and about the perfection of a debating culture.

26 March Speeches

LD262129 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Excerpts] We will now give a detailed report on the events of the party congress.

[Unidentified reporter] In the debate over the Central Committee and Central Control Committee reports, the first speaker today was Premier Gyorgy Lazar, Politburo member. Speaking about the work of the government, its achievements and problems, he said the following:

[Begin Lazar recording] In the past 5 years the greatest number of problems were presented to us by the everyday, often pressing problems of the economy. There were situations when we were able to solve these only with more than the customarily rigorous central direction. For this reason there was an increasing sense of concern that we were returning to a practice that had been transcended earlier. I believe that by now it is clear that this was not our intention. Even within its own scope of decisionmaking and amidst the goal-directed implementation of the economic regulators, the government endeavored to ensure the independence of the enterprises and will continue in this endeavor in the future as well.

In the difficult times mentioned in the report, the organizing work necessary for the preservation of international solvency and for the continuity of production and supplies and the debates that accompanied it tied up a great deal of energy. This is true. Nonetheless, in the work of the government the great issues of social and economic development were given much more attention than in the previous 5 years.

It is known to us, and we are far from indifferent to it, that public opinion often criticizes our work. I believe that one of the sources of this is that occasionally the situation forced us to make decisions, a proportion of which, this must be frankly stated, we could have avoided with greater foresight or with better work.

The other source of criticism lies in the fact that phenomena contrary to our social norms have become more numerous; a great deal was said about those in yesterday's debate. Are these criticisms justified? Does the government bear responsibility for the fact that less is being done for the improvement of economic activity and the elimination of unfavorable phenomena than would be necessary? Yes, the government has a responsibility in this, and even more, it has tasks in this sphere. This is something that we are taking note of, and we wish to develop further the governmental work to ensure that it will serve our social endeavors even more consistently, providing good conditions for socialist public life and for the material and moral recognition of good, more successful work, leaving less scope for artful dodgers.

Esteemed congress, dear comrades. Despite all the difficulties, we have made progress in the sphere of socialist construction; the intellectual and material wealth of our country has been further enriched. In the course of 4 years the national wealth has increased by more than 15 percent; almost 2,000, and this is no mistake, 2,000 productive investments have begun functioning, among them such important creations as the first nuclear power station in our country. Consumption has increased; apart from a few temporary hiccups, we have been able to ensure an acceptable level of supply of goods. The circumstances of life have improved, but, as has been mentioned already, we have not been able to attain all our targets as regards the standard of living.

There are numerous countries, often in a much better situation than ours, that are economically more developed than we are, which cannot achieve a faster rate of growth than ours, a yearly average of 2-2.5 percent. In the European capitalist countries, the army of the unemployed has grown to tremendous proportions, amounting to 15 million people, and the social expenditures are constantly being cut. If we compare this with the fact that in our country there is full employment and social security, that the social benefits have not only not been reduced but in the course of 4 years have increased by approximately 12 percent, in other words increased at a faster rate than the national income, then we can even be satisfied.

Nonetheless, we are not satisfied, primarily because had we worked better we could have achieved more. In terms of forints, the effectiveness of the economy has improved by only a slightly greater amount than what we have lost through the deterioration of the terms of trade. This development had two consequences which, although we would have liked to, we could not avoid. The first of these was that we repeatedly had to increase consumer prices to a greater extent than originally planned. Even though the price increases were countervailed to some extent, this hit those with large families, the pensioners, and young people starting out in their careers, and starting families particularly sensitively.

The other consequence has come about as a result of the reduction in investments and is expressed in the fact that because of it we have had to forego the realization of a proportion of our developmental goals including developments serving technological progress. Since, contrary to our intentions, we have been able to secure an improvement in the external balance largely only through a reduction in internal consumption, there are those who question whether it was necessary and correct to subordinate the standard of living and investment to such an extent to the preservation of international solvency. I am convinced that it was, first and foremost because, and this is shown by many countries' example, settling the conditions of equilibrium is an indispensable condition for the development of an offensive economic policy. We have already taken the decisive step but the equilibrium is still open to damage; for further progress we need a more secure equilibrium and in order to provide the basis for this, there is a need to bring new energies for growth into action.

The Central Committee proposes that in the future we should lay the foundations for improvement of the balance not at the expense of domestic consumption, investment, and

technical progress but through the more forceful and speedier development of the modernization of production, the improvement of efficiency, the intensification of competition, and the better utilization of the existing resources, in other words the characteristics of intensive development. The opportunity for this already exists. However, the opportunity on its own does not amount to reality. For it to become reality everybody must become aware in our society that the consolidation of the balance, which cannot be delayed, and the laying of the foundations for our advance cannot take place without a speedier unfolding of efficiency. If we do not advance in the consolidation of the balance then the process of the modernization of the economy grinds to a halt, or at the least slows down.

Do we have an alternative to the graduai speeding up of economic development through the more sensible utilization of our resources if we are not to abuse the patience shown by our people in accepting the stagnation, and by some, even the decline, of the standard of living? Can we risk a further deterioration of our technical backwardness, which has arisen due to historical reasons, if we reduce investments to an even lower level?

In my view, there can only be one answer to this. We do not have such a choice. After all, we cannot expect anybody else to foot the bill. However, there is no need for that if we seriously make up our minds to push ahead with the utilization of the known resources of our economy. However, for this we need to create a social atmosphere and economic conditions that provide a greater incentive for the development of the innovative and entrepreneural inclination and compel more than at present the improvement of economic management.

Speaking of ourselves, the government, I can add to this that we must act with the same consistency in the manifestation of the new requirements of our development that we displayed in recent years when it was the process of indebtedness that we had to stop and reverse. It is no accident that I am emphasizing this. One of the weaknesses of our work is that when we should be implementing the demands of efficiency and economic rationality, when the positions in principle should be carried out through concrete action, we are not sufficiently consistent. The fault often lies in the tendency not to solve the conflicts but to smooth them over. This also plays a part in the fact that we have made less progress than we should have in the elimination of uneconomic production; let me mention here, by the way, that one-fifth of all enterprises work at a low level of effectiveness or at a loss in the reduction of subsidies, in the realization of personal responsibility, and in the elimination of a great many other phenomena curbing our progress. Public opinion is rightly calling us to account for this.

A further issue: We are at the stage of socioeconomic development where the known earlier successful methods are no longer or not always proved to be sufficient. The more consistent cognizance paid to goods and price relations, the new forms of enterprises and enterprise management, the greater and real differentiation of earnings depending on performance, the implementation of a more just distribution of the public burdens do not represent a move away from our socialist principles.

We do not support improvisation. However, it can happen that some of our measures do not stand the test of time. Naturally, that is not a good thing. Yet it is a greater mistake and it causes more harm if we do not even attempt to solve the problems that life puts on our everyday agenda.

I must speak about all this because sometimes it happens that certain individuals seek the reasons for phemomena that are justly taken exception to, such as inefficient or loss-making production, in the regulators or legal regulations, or perhaps in some ideological aberration even when one is dealing with simple negligence, poor

organization, work of bad quality, lack of professionalism, in other words, of the mistakes and distortions of human conduct or the nonobservance of civic discipline.

The return to the regulators, their determination is the task of the government.

I consider it natural that the enterprises should judge the quality of the regulators form their own point of view. However, necessity, the need created by life itself and not by the government, also creates requirements, and the two judgements do not always coincide. We have paid a high price for recognizing this only belatedly.

Nor is it in doubt, dear comrades, that firm steps must be taken against phenomena harming our socialist norms. As are many others, I am also convinced that administrative means in themselves prove insufficient if they are not coupled with effective means of social control that are honest, responsible, and practiced by a large majority. [end recording]

[Reporter] Premier Gyorgy Lazar also spoke about the experiences so far in this year's work, and about the damage caused by the winter.

[Begin Lazar recording] According to first estimates the loss of production as a result of energy restrictions, the extra expenses caused by the winter, the estimable damages in total, exceed 20 billion forints. I take this opportunity to say, on behalf of the government, thank you to the miners, the workers in the energy supply sector, in transport and transportation, to the soldiers, and to everybody who in the hard days of winter contributed with sacrificial work to overcoming the difficulties. At the same time, I express my conviction that the collectives at the enterprises and cooperatives, the socialist brigades, will do everything in the coming months to make up the backlogs, and that the impetus of socialist work competition will encourage the fulfillment of this year's plan.

Here I would like to pause for a minute. This government can be criticized for many things, but hardly for making promises. Even so, I say now that even if the weather changes for the better we shall not forget about the miners even then. [applause] [end recording]

[Reporter] In the closing part of his speech the premier spoke about foreign policy issues. He said, among other things, that our relations with the Soviet Union, which are developing, fruitful, and expanding, will play an indispensible role in the future as well. Speaking about the CEMA, he remarked that on our part we are doing everything to contribute in a creative manner to the deepening of economic integration.

Following the morning interval, Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, was first to address the meeting. In the first part of his speech he reviewed the reasons why we could not find appropriate answers in time to the challenges of the international economic crisis of the seventies. He analyzed the internal and external conditions of our economic development, he touched on the debate concerning these issues, and then continued as follows:

[Begin Havasi recording] Debates concerning economic construction often touch, understandably, on our concept of socialism. The picture of a future society, the socialist picture of today that is derived from revolutionary, generally well-intentioned visions, is changing. Previously we believed that in socialism, economic development was consistent, that growth in living standards was unbroken, and that the effects of the economic and political crisis of capitalism could not touch the socialist world. We also assumed that with the advancement of socialism national borders would lose their significance. On the question of nationalities, we thought that the generations

growing up in socialism would not be contaminated by nationalism, anti-Semitism, petit bourgeois ideas, and that they would not be affected by religion and bourgeois views.

Today all socialist countries are measuring where they are in respect to development and how to (?go on and in which direction) in the future. The awareness is becoming stronger that the perfection of advanced socialism requires a long historical period and that the socialist countries stand at the beginning of this road. Many things follow from this. It has an impact, among other things, on the state of development of production relations, on the principles of allocating produced goods, on socialist democracy, and on the system of political institutions as well. In theory, even before, it was never in doubt that the relationship between goods and money had to be made better use of in socialist construction. The question is whether we have drawn the practical conclusions of this recognition.

Socialism, too, is a society of goods production, in which there is state, cooperative, private, and personal property, in which there exists not only utility value but real value, too; and money, credit, and other economic categories have an important role.

In socialism the production of goods and the market are regulated by and managed by the plan of the people's economy. The laws of production of goods cannot be ignored or neglected even in socialist circumstances. Prices can be deflected from values, but it must be known that this will have repercussions, that not satisfying demand for a long period leads to political and economic distortions, and even to distortions of consciousness and to undesirable phenomena.

For all these reasons the plans of the people's economy, the entire system of economic management, the regulatory system, and the political institutions must take account of the level of development of the economy and of the fact that it comprises several sectors. The road leading to socialism is a rough one. However, there are many more detours and failures than we believed earlier.

It does not hurt, therefore, it is even desirable that we get rid of our illusions and strengthen our faith in the correctness of our ideas and in their accessibility. [end recording]

[Reporter] Ferenc Havasi then talked about the economic goals that can be designated for the second half of the eighties. But first he returned to the recent past, briefly:

[Begin Havasi recording] In the 12th congress resolution a demand of historic proportions was made that this congress halt our decline, referring to our financial imbalance. We had to hit the brakes and ensure at the same time that the car did not overturn in the process. The congress recognized at that time that in order for us to gain new momentum we first had to slow down. One of the important tasks of the 13th congress is to now map out the program for more vibrant economic development. Faster growth, however, can only be allowed alongside the simultaneous assertion of several demands. The only type of growth that can be realized is one that at the same time consolidates our economic situation, assists the structural development of the economy, and is fed on intensive resources. At any rate, it is the value earning capacity of the economy that must first be made, and consumption can only be built on this foundation.

The recovery in economic growth and the emergence of favorable processes can be realized gradually. In the first years, in 1985, a 2.5 to 3 percent expansion can be projected for national income. This can secure a small-scale increase in domestic consumption, maintaining within this the present level of investments and real wages. From 1986-1987 the national income may slightly exceed the 3 percent figure, and building on

this, domestic consumption can also grow somewhat faster; first, at a rate approaching the national income, and then at an identical rate, perhaps exceeding it slightly. This provides an opportunity for expanding the maneuvering room for making living standards policy, for increasing real wages, and for maintaining in a wider sphere the real value of social benefits.

In investment policy we give priority to developments resulting in the modernization of the economy; the promotion of structural changes; the lessening of per unit costs, primarily material and energy costs in production; and to investments that result in replacement, modernization, and the supplementing of investments. To be realized, developments should satisfy the demands -- not of yesterday but of today and tomorrow -- of electronic equipment manufacturing, for example, in biotechnology, robot technology, the pharmaceutical sector, the production of cereals and meat, and the use of energy and secondary materials.

Esteemed congress. As far as the living standard policy is concerned, we require it to more tangibly promote and encourage economic development, reduce social inequalities, moderate social tensions, become more just, and equally distribute all burdens.

In income policy the principle "From each according to his abilities to each according to his work" should be asserted. Some two-thirds of the population's incomes are derived from work. The improvement of the system of distribution in accordance with the work performed must never be taken off the agenda. We must ensure that work carried out during official working hours becomes more organized and better respected. Outstanding results are to be given the appropriate moral and financial appreciation. The modified system of income regulation provides a better opportunity for this than its predecessor.

There is a continuing need for work outside people's first jobs for all enterprises. However, this sort of work is not to be done just for the sake of doing it. Such activities must be in harmony with the needs of the people's economy. We are endeavoring to ensure that incomes that can be earned in both official working hours and in small enterprises operated in addition to these working hours should follow real performance closely and any difference between them should be socially acceptable. [end recording]

[Reporter] The Central Committee secretary noted on the subject of social welfare policy that while the sums of money spent on this are increasing all the time and have now reached 26 percent of national income, social tension is not decreasing. This clear contradiction can only be resolved if social policy identifies those who really rely on benefits and provides more for them than before.

[Begin Havasi recording] On the basis of the social policy concept currently being drafted, it can be declared that the living conditions of those most dependent on benefits can be improved by making distribution more fair. Helping those who are in a socially unfavorable position and remembering that those who need help most should get it, are important aspects of social welfare policy. We can do no more now than pay more attention to and better assert the principle of need, and to do so together with what is due to the citizens. However, in the long term, the citizens' rights should be gradually made predominant.

Among the aspects of social welfare policy affecting individual strata of society, we consider the following to be essential. The fact that we are gradually extending the child-care fee beyond the first birthday of the child to the age of three is having a favorable effect on the financial position of families with children. We are maintaining the purchasing power of family supplements.

We are extending the various payments in kind to families with three or more children. Young people about to start a family receive several benefits and support for buying and maintaining their first homes, especially if their own resources and family background are insufficient for these purposes.

Many contributors dealt with the position of the elderly, the old-age pensioners, in the course of the debates on the congress guidelines. The number of old-age pensioners is nearly 2.3 million. More than 500,000 old-age pensioners are without a spouse. The majority of them can rely on their children or on other relations. Help must be given primarily to those who cannot rely on their families.

A national survey was conducted at the beginning of this year about old-age pensioners relying on social welfare support. The survey exposed new problems, the most serious of which must be tackled this year. The social security of the elderly is determined fundamentally by the system of old-age pensions and the care network. Various rumors have been circulating for years about modifying the system of old-age pensions. The modernization is, indeed, on the agenda because we would like to correct the much criticized and condemned shortcomings of this system.

Old-age pensions are a right earned through work and, as such, they are an irreversible achievement. It is our intention that the system of pensions take more account of the work performed, be more flexible, and provide greater social security. The modifications -- if these take place in the future -- cannot have an unfavorable effect on those retiring in the future. In accordance with our concepts, both the existing and the modernized pension systems will run concurrently and will enjoy the same legal existence for several years. Those retiring will be given the option of choosing whichever of the two is more favorable for them.

I would like to speak briefly about the development of prices and about the changes we wish to institute in our wage policy practice. It is well known that for some time now we have been striving to ensure that prices express the costs in harmony with the valuation of the market. By so doing, they are to promote an improvement in the efficiency of production and better coordination of supply and demand.

We cannot give up in the future either the many-sided role played by prices influencing the trends in economic processes. The unfavorable social and economic effects of price rises urge us to exert efforts aimed at the gradual lessening of price increases, and not by artificial means or by administrative methods, but by an economic policy which reduces inflation. We are aware that price trends are rooted in economic management. We cannot, in the future either, give up the formulation of correct price ratios, the joint movement of productive and consumer prices, and the reduction of unjustified price support.

We have to help in strengthening the function of prices by using the methods available to economic management, with the conscious development of market relations. Our aim is to ease increases in the price levels noticeably, to about 5 percent. Therefore we consider the formulation of an appropriate anti-inflationary policy a necessary task. The program must include ideas concerning the conditions and the means required for the liquidation of primary causes of inflation, the political, state, and economic tasks involved with its implementation, and also administrative, regulatory, and control tasks.

The easing of price rises can be achieved gradually. We cannot, for the coming years either, exclude the possibility that consumer price rises, and within this, central price rises, will take place. But we wish to achieve the formulation of correct price ratios by ensuring that the scale of rise in the price level is socially bearable.
[end recording]

[Reporter] In his contribution to the debate, Deputy Premier Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, said that in intellectual life the main weapon continues to be persuasion, consistent, principled conduct and debates.

[Begin Aczel recording] In recent years, in the main areas of socialist construction, as a Marxist-Leninist party we have initiated new forms, new socialist solutions; most of the time we found good solutions. Mistakes have also been made. All these things in their totality evoke a sense of insecurity and aversion in many people and put the steadfastness of a portion of our party members and nonparty members to the test. I would like to remind you that similar debates occurred concerning household plots and other socialist solutions.

The ideological-cultural debates have also become more lively as regards our historical path, our fundamental values, our social and economic development; unfortunately, a great deal less has been said about culture itself. It is natural that in this present discussion, political and economic issues occupy the center place but we are also aware of the fact that the cause and fate of the economy is not merely an economic issue. A small country, poor in raw materials, such as ours, can hold its own in international competition primarily through the abilities and talents that lie in the people, their work culture, and the development of human relations and general education-culture on a mass scale and at a higher qualitative level. [end recording]

[Reporter] One of the most important spheres of the development of abilities and talents is the school. It develops, and largely determines, culture, professional skills, and ideology. It is thus understandable that the school is accorded outstanding attention today. The Central Committee secretary had the following to say on this topic:

[Begin Aczel recording] In the educational institutions, from the kindergartens to higher education, there is a need for an atmosphere that creates trust equally in the educational institution and in society, and where the syllabus and education are in harmony with the world outside the school. Youth learn to understand others only if the schools themselves understand young people better, if they become more democratic and at the same time teach the generations growing up to carry out high-level, disciplined work and obligatory care for others.

The school, even if it cannot do everything, can do a great deal to reduce and eventually eliminate inequalities of a social origin, the handicaps passed on inside the families. It is necessary to further improve, expand, and develop with our school system the conditions of the vernacular education of the nationalities living in our country. We are following Lenin's teaching: The majority can never show enough consideration to the minority; this is also one of our fundamental, socialist national interests.

In order for our schools to meet these manifold and difficult requirements, first and foremost the work of the teachers must be accorded a considerably greater weight in our social system of values. This is so first and foremost as regards good teachers, who bear the greatest burdens and who are doing the most for young people, our future. It is necessary to improve their training, their level of preparedness, their independence and, if necessary the teachers; the schools must be protected against arbitrary exercises of power even by the means of authority.

A significant improvement in the situation, in the circumstances of life and conditions of work of the teachers, the facilitation of their activities in shaping human beings, is one of the primary tasks of the country. The care a society takes of the generations that are growing up is an expression and measure of the responsibility that it feels

toward the future, of its self-respect. Education, the schools, are our common cause, the nation's cause, a national cause. Let the schools be accorded respect; let the state, the family, the factory, the office, the cooperative, mass communications, the trade union, the youth league feel and accept the responsibility which they bear for youth. [end recording]

[Reporter] Artists, cultural policy, the audience, criticism, the fundamental issues of the role of the arts: these were also discussed by Gyorgy Aczel.

[Begin Aczel recording] This policy resulted in an upswing in intellectual life which brought forth outstanding results in every branch of culture, contributing to the rise of our people, the stabilization of policy, and the creation of national unity.

This was the first time in the history of our country that a unified system of values came about, bringing forth a meeting between artistic life and cultural policy, worthy criticism and the judgment of an understanding community, and there was not even a single significant artist or creator who was forced to create in opposition to power, to socialist power. Every significant creation reached the public. In Hungarian history, where the artists being in the opposition is a tradition going back centuries, it is without precedent that the arts, the writers, literature, policy, functioned in a good, debating unity, in alliance, working and creating in the interests of the people and the nation.

New generations have grown up and are growing up, new endeavors are arising, new ideological problems have come about and are coming about, we have had to pursue new debates; it is our responsible obligation, and will be in the future as well, to renew this alliance between and within generations alike. Dear comrades, we did not notice in the meantime that a strange phrase came into common usage in our country. Creative intelligentsia -- this phrase applies almost exclusively to writers, artists, or at most practitioners of the abstract sciences. Today this is unacceptable. It is time, and I presume writers, artists and scientists agree, that this recognition should be given to the employed researcher, to the engineer involved in planning and development, to the economist calculating resources and market forces, to the plant geneticists, to the doctor who fights in a different way, by curing others, to the teacher with a creative spirit, to those organizing our industrial and agricultural enterprises, to specialists shaping and protecting our environment, and to people developing the means for processing information and the means of transport. [end recording]

[Reporter] The link between science and practice today, the emerging reform processes overtake theoretical generalization. This is understandable but cannot be maintained in the long run. A task, therefore, awaits historians, sociologists, and writers; they have to contribute to the shaping of a political practice. Finally, Gyorgy Aczel dealt with some of our most keenly debated issues. In a few words: the fifties, our national values, democracy and the party.

[Begin Aczel recording] A long list of works of art, scientific works, recollections, and public statements deal repeatedly with the evaluation of the so-called fifties. There are people, however, who in condemning the distortions and crimes of the fifties question everything that took place in that period, put everyone under scrutiny who lived then and worked in that period. It is historically just for us to state that what was created by hundreds of thousands, millions, of Hungarian workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, can only be thought of with respect. Their self-sacrificing work, their efforts have become integral parts of our present and our future.

But at the same time, emphasizing continuity, we have also made it unmistakeable up to now that the party rejected a policy unworthy of our movement; we say with Lenin

that the seriousness of a party is also demonstrated by its severe attitude to its own mistakes, and we must not confuse the masses of the party in those days with the clique whose distorted policy was the first among the causes which eventually led to the counterrevolution which resulted in a national tragedy.

Our party, with its work in the past 25 years, has proved that it has conclusively broken with this policy. More and more words are being said about the fate of the nation and about the safeguarding of national values and interests. Even under socialist conditions passionate debates indicate confusion in this area. It is now a historic fact that the future of our people and our nation is tied conclusively to socialism. The working classes, the Hungarian people, have become a nation; the fate of our homeland depends on the standing of socialism. Our party, the internationalist party of socialist construction, represents the program of national progress and seeks and builds an alliance with every well-intentioned person. Nothing can be too much for the active patriotism of today's Hungarians, but as far as nationalism is concerned, any amount is too much.

There is something to be cleared up about the debate that is happily emerging and is also represented here, the debate concerning democracy. It is not only the past 25 years that show the expansion of our democracy. In the past few years also a series of good initiatives also show where we are going to and from where. And we have no other path to follow. And our program is a democratization process to be carried out by asserting the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and with its active collaboration.

We have said many times that we are happy to learn new solutions from anyone, but it is a mistake if someone wants to cure the shortcomings of socialist democracy with the potion of bourgeois democracy. Real democracy is the intelligent discipline of communal seriousness. Nobody's life becomes more comfortable just by democracy alone. This is a difficult school, but the individual, the community, and the country become more intelligent, more efficient and richer.

Finally, I would like to say something about the party, to make a statement of principle, that socialism has never been built without a communist party, nor can it be realized. We, the collective of communists and the party take the responsibility for a greater community, for the Hungarian people, and beyond them for our internationalist ideas. We have managed to adapt to changing circumstances, our changes are the changes of a living organism; in the name of a firm idea we are capable of solving the new tasks. [end recording]

[Reporter] You have been listening to a recording of the contribution made by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. The delegates heard and approved the report of the Mandates Committee. Laszlo Ballai, chairman of the committee, took this opportunity to greet the oldest delegate to the congress, 91-year-old Istvan Hunya; Andras Szobek, who recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of his party membership; and the youngest delegate, 21-year-old Mrs Zoltan Paksi, who is a shop assistant in Fejer county.

The speakers this afternoon included Colonel General Istvan Olah, minister of defense, who said the following: Even in terms of international comparison, the Hungarian People's Army has withstood the test in the past few years. It did well in the military exercises. Yet, it has problems as well.

[Begin Olah recording] Naturally, in recent times the building of the Army was determined overall by the same circumstances and conditions that determined every sphere of our social existence. Among these conditions there were favorable ones to us, just as there were less favorable and even detrimental ones. These made the solution of

the defense tasks, the realization of the military goals, and our everyday life in the Army more difficult than expected. We have been able to devote less to the improvement of human and service conditions and to the conditions of life.

Our particular problems and the tensions in our lives are mostly connected with these facts, and it is necessary to devote increased attention to their solution in the future. The value of the socialist army is fundamentally determined by the political strength, patriotism, willingness to make sacrifices, skill, and preparedness of the people serving in it, the people bearing arms. A decisive condition of this is that our People's Army should at all times possess a suitable and well-prepared professional staff. There is a wide-ranging social interest in ensuring that the direction of people toward a military career, the material supply of the People's Army, the greater social esteem to be accorded to the profession of soldier should form a considered, well-functioning system and that the special responsibility that goes with military service should be well manifested in it. [end recording]

[Reporter] The Hungarian soldiers, the minister of defense said, work for a peaceful world. They are interested in restricting the arms race, though without illusions; they view the negotiations getting under way with optimism. However, the military balance between the two opposing blocs must be preserved.

[Begin Olah recording] It has been and remains a basic tenet of our defense policy that the cause of our country's defense and its tasks can and must be solved within the alliance system, within the Warsaw Pact, in close unity with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries. It follows from this that our defense policy is an internationalist committed policy, whose firm supporting pillar has been from the beginning the Hungarian-Soviet friendship and belonging to the Warsaw Pact organization, the full and willing implementation of the obligations undertaken in the alliance.

The fact that in a few weeks time we can celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism in peace, that in the meantime the peace of Europe, won at the cost of heavy sacrifices, has been preserved, that a world war more destructive than any before has been avoided, is due, beyond the political-diplomatic initiatives of the fraternal countries grouped in the Warsaw Pact, to its military strength and to its coordinated and harmonized defense endeavors.

It is in our fundamental national interest, and at the same time we are fulfilling our internationalist principles, when we, the Hungarian people, contribute to the extent to which it can be expected from us, to a realistic extent to the united military strength of the Warsaw Pact and through it to the military balance existing at any one time. [end recording]

[Reporter] Representatives of the foreign delegations also spoke today. The 13th congress was greeted on behalf of the 19 million Soviet Communists by Grigoriy Romanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was the first foreign speaker. In the first minutes of his speech he spoke about the significance of party congresses, first of all in general terms, and then he dwelled on the experiences so far of the 13th MSZMP Congress.

[Begin Romanov recording in Russian fading into superimposed Hungarian translation] The significance of the congresses of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties goes beyond the frameworks of a given country; they become the significant events of the whole of the life of the socialist community and this is also legitimate. No matter how peculiar the concrete conditions of the development of one or other sister state or its national peculiarities are, the achievement of successes is fundamentally our joint interest and we search together for the answer to the problems that life raises.

The MSZMP Central Committee report proves this truth. The whole working process of your congress profoundly convinces us of the fact that its results will promote the strengthening of the Hungarian socialist society, will give a new impetus to speeding up the country's economic and social development for the successful accomplishment of big, though at times far from simple, tasks. [end recording]

[Reporter] Grigoriy Romanov recalled that all that it has been possible to achieve since the victory over fascism proves the correctness of the path chosen by the Soviet Union and the other sister countries.

[Begin Romanov recording] In the past period we have all come to better realize how important it is to have reliable friends holding the same views as we do, how inestimably great an achievement the existence of the socialist community is. This is a community of a special kind. In it there is no room for domination or subordination, for imposing our will on one another, or for the mechanical formation of sameness. The basis of unity in this community is the identity of the Marxist-Leninist view and the fact that our fundamental interests are shared, that faithfulness to the principles of class solidarity are identical, that the mutually thorough taking into account of interests is realized, and that the mutual readiness to help is asserted.

In your work, dear comrades, you will also be able to build in the future, as before, on the indissoluble Soviet-Hungarian friendship, on the closest cooperation with the CPSU, with the homeland of the Great October. [end recording]

[Reporter] Grigoriy Romanov, CPSU Politburo member, pointed out in his speech, in this very connection of cooperation, that the national interests of the socialist countries can only be reliably asserted if the whole of the socialist community is strengthened. This is what characterizes the basic stand of the Soviet Communists. This was confirmed by the March 1985 extraordinary session of the CPSU Central Committee, and this was stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev when the CPSU general secretary recently met the leaders of the party and state delegations of the Warsaw Pact member-countries in Moscow. This is how Grigoriy Romanov continued:

[Begin Romanov recording] Our party highly values the consistent, internationalist line of the leading and guiding force of the MSZMP, of People's Hungary. Comrades, at your congress many beautiful things have been said about Soviet-Hungarian relations, the friendship of our peoples. We completely agree with what has been said. The experience of many years and life itself makes it possible for us to note with satisfaction that these relations are not only developing with an upward sweep and uninterruptedly, but they are also achieving ever-more tangible results in every sphere of life: in politics, economy, science, and culture. The germ of this process is provided by the close cooperation that characterizes the permanent relations of the Central Committees and leaders of our parties.

The development of relations is constant in the national economy. It is sufficient to allude to the fact that Soviet-Hungarian goods exchange, in the period of the present 5-year plan, will grow over 1.5 times, and its value will come close to R40 billion.

For the most part, mutual coordination of the supplies of produce which accords with national interests has already taken place. It includes fuels, raw materials, machines, and equipment. There are good possibilities for the extension of relations in such vital branches as energetics, machine industry, including microelectronics and robot technology, the agricultural production system, and consumer goods manufacturing.

The further development of specialization and joint ventures in production also figures in the plans. The Soviet-Hungarian long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation program, which will be signed in the near future, will be a new and important milestone in strengthening of these processes. [end recording]

[Reporter] The prospects of bilateral economic relations are closely linked to implementation of the decisions taken at the highest-level consultation last year of the CEMA member states. Thanks to these, common action and cooperation will rise to a higher level and economic independence vis-a-vis the West will increase. At the same time, as Grigoriy Romanov stressed, we are intent, along with consolidating socialist economic integration, on developing our business links with the capitalist countries, too, on a mutually advantageous basis in such a way, naturally, that they cannot use economic factors as a means of political pressure.

About the processes of international life, Grigoriy Romanov noted: It is the most aggressive groups of imperialism, first and foremost of American imperialism, who are responsible for accentuating the present situation. The socialist countries will not permit others to negotiate with them from a position of strength by means of threats. The socialist community has at its disposal every necessary means to defend itself, to be able to answer a challenge. At the same time, Grigoriy Romanov formulated with great emphasis the following basic political principle: The historical debate between the various social systems, on a world scale and also here in Europe, can and should be decided only by peaceful means.

At the center of attention of international public opinion is the Soviet-American discussion, which started recently and the topic of which is the set of problems concerning nuclear and space weapons. Grigoriy Romanov summed up in this way the negotiating position of the Soviet delegation:

[Begin Romanov recording] The USSR arrived in Geneva with constructive and realistic plans, with the intention of acting in accordance with the agreements that have been attained concerning the subject and objectives of the discussions. That is the kind of approach we expect also from the American side. Now it is naturally still too early to draw any consequences whatever, even preliminary ones. As far as the USSR is concerned, however, it will not depend on it. We always answer goodwill with goodwill, trust with trust. [end recording]

[Reporter] In his speech Grigoriy Romanov also analyzed a few issues of a domestic political nature in the life of the USSR.

[Begin Romanov recording] In these days our party is preparing for its 27th congress. As you also know, this congress plans to debate and adopt the party program in a new formulation. We shall carry out necessary corrections in the CPSU's organizational regulation. The congress will approve the basic directions of the country's economic and social development for the next 5 years and up to the year 2000. [end recording]

The heads of the other 40 foreign delegations at the 13th MSZMP Congress sent their greetings in writing to the participants in the congress, to the Hungarian communists.

[Presenter] Now we again connect to the congress center, from where Geza Foldvari reports.

[Foldvari] Shortly after 1900, the second work day of the 13th MSZMP Congress came to a conclusion. After this, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee met here, in the Budapest Congress center, with the CPSU Delegation, which, headed by Grigoriy Romanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU

Central Committee, is taking part in the highest forum of the Hungarian communists. Grigoriy Romanov conveyed the greetings of the Soviet communists and the fraternal Soviet people, and wished further successes for the work of the 13th congress. Janos Kadar and Grigoriy Romanov informed one another about the MSZMP and the CPSU's tasks on the agenda. An exchange of opinions took place on the development of cooperation between the two countries, the two parties, and some topical issues of international life. Taking part in the meeting, which was held in a cordial, friendly atmosphere were Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, and Geza Kotai, deputy head of the Foreign Relations Department of the Central Committee.

[East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German at 1800 GMT on 26 March reports: "There was a friendly meeting in Budapest today between Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, and Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. During the talk they both praised the close fraternal relations and the fruitful cooperation between the GDR and Hungary. Werner Jarowinsky wished continuing success to the MSZMP Congress, which is at present in progress."]

As I mentioned, the second workday, today, of the congress has ended. The MSZMP delegates will continue their work here in the Budapest Congress Center at 0900 tomorrow.

[Presenter] We have another item of news related to the congress.

In accordance with the traditions of the congress, Janos Kadar, in the company of Karoly Nemeth, met veterans today at 1100 in one of the halls of the Congress Center. The invitation served the goal of expressing our esteem, the esteem of the Central Committee, the veteran fighters of the party, Janos Kadar said, and he gave thanks for the support which the elderly personalities of the workers' movement also now give the party leadership. Some elderly personalities of the workers' movement took part in the 30-minute friendly conversation, including Pal Schiffer, Laszlo Foldes, Piroska Szabo, and Gryorgy Marosan. After the good-humored conversation, the veterans went back to the session hall in order to follow with attention, as guests, the work of the congress.

CPSU's Romanov Speaks

For Soviet coverage of the visit to Hungary by Grigoriy Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, including his speech at the 13th MSZMP Congress and his talks with MSZMP First Secretary Janos Kadar, see the Eastern Europe section of the 26 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

27 March Speeches

LD272240 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Excerpt] We now go over to the party congress.

[Reporter] During the debate on the Central Committee and Central Control Committee reports the first to speak today was Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Trade Union Council and member of the Politburo. It is his speech that we shall now recall.

[Begin Gaspar recording] On today's situation and tasks of the trade unions, allow me to make a very brief survey. During the past 40 years the Hungarian trade union movement had to change course on two occasions; there were two turning-points. In 1945 the old barriers had to be demolished, we had to leave the path in which the decisive task of the trade union movement was a narrow safeguarding of interests. It is to

the credit of the Hungarian trade unions that at that time they drew the conclusion that they had to take responsibility for the fate of the whole country, for the fate of the entire nation.

The task is not just the narrowly defined representation of class interests, therefore. The other change of course took place in 1956, after the events of the counter-revolution. Under the guidance of the MSZMP we created the independence of the trade union movement and the conditions for its freedom of action and ability to act. The trade union movement was also institutionally integrated into, and participated in, the shaping and formulating of policies. And since that time it is these Leninist norms that have been guiding the activities of the Hungarian trade union movement.

Today there is no need for a change of course, but there is a need to adjust to the existing situation. Within a year we shall hold the next Hungarian trade union congress, and this congress will have to formulate everything that is new, to which the trade unions will have to align all their activities. Attention will have to be paid to the fact that new forms of enterprise management have emerged in the factories and at the workplaces. We have an incentive system, we have a regulatory system, and the independence for factories has increased. There are greater possibilities for the full development of workplace democracy.

There have been many debates and there is still much debate about how we should now interpret this chacteristic activity of trade unions, namely the safeguarding of interests. We must take cognizance of the fact that interests cannot be safeguarded completely independently of economic reality and productivity; so the safeguarding of interests begins in socialist conditions with the need for creating better economic foundations. The trade unions must contribute to this with the peculiar means available to them, and they must deal much more thoroughly than hitherto with two things: In what way can we make use of that work force and the wages fund.

We must directly confront one aspect: When we begin this process of socialist industrialization -- and this is not a mistake or a crime -- the main goal was that everyone should have a job and we should work. A process started then, a process that is still continuing today, namely, that in essence we have no wages policy, but that we distribute the wages fund so that everyone gets a little.

Our economic policy has now entered a new stage. It is the principle of differentiated wages that we are trying regularly to assert. We are weak on two fronts: We are still not making use of the work force where it can be most effective, nor can we use the wage funds at our disposal in a way that creates an incentive. And instead of talking about this now, we must do something about it. This cannot be determined centrally. Taking account of the opportunities available to factories, experience must be gathered there, and it is in the factories that the formulation of a system of wages which is more just, which conforms better to today's demands, which has an influence on production, and which provides an incentive must begin.

The fact that the trade union movement has become integrated into the system of power, that it has become institutionalized, has, unfortunately, made it more bureaucratic. Well, we have also become pretty bureaucratic.

I still remember well the number of people required some 30 or 40 years ago to carry out the Central Committee work of each individual trade union. I also know how many more of us are carrying out the same amount of work today. Yet, that work was done by far fewer people before. We must reflect on this. We must also urgently examine the way in which we can restore the character of the trade union movement as a real movement. Something will have to be done about this.

I would like to say just a few sentences about cooperation between the government and the National Trade Union Council [SZOT]. Cooperation of this kind is not only necessary and useful but also have genuinely great value. We are guided by the same goal but our approaches are different and debates are sometimes quite sharp.

Organized workers have approached the trade unions -- and such things must be listened to -- asking about the actual positions of the trade unions when in recent years measures have been taken which affected the living and working conditions of working people. I can firmly state that we were present when the decisions were made and we accepted the responsibility for them at the time. True, we managed to do some bargaining and concessions were made by both sides. In other words, our negotiations always end in compromise. There was also some form of compensation with the introduction of central wage measures. In that case it was not compromise that decided who was right; rather, that was decided by the necessities of the actual situation. The trade unions accept responsibility for this.

Comrade Lazar also referred in his speech to one of the contributions made here by a miner, expressing the hope that the government will not forget the miners in better times. Indeed, they will not be forgotten. We are already working with the government to ensure that the present situation in which the miners are working, and which is quite remarkable, cannot be allowed to continue. This situation must be changed.

Similarly, change must also come for the railway workers, who have been carrying out their work while seriously understaffed for quite a long time now. Railway workers cannot form economic work collectives because trains are controlled from the stations. Trains cannot be controlled from huts. The labor force is not moving into the areas where it is most required. This must also be changed and the opportunity for that is in our own hands.

Comrades, let me just say a few sentences in conclusion about the leading role of the party. Under socialist conditions, the trade union movement cannot develop in the absence of a party that is capable of directing and leading society. We do have such a party; it is the MSZMP. It has shown the way. We can be proud of the fact that it had the political courage to seek and open up new paths in economic policy, agrarian policy, the policy of alliance, and trade union policy.

Unfortunately, one cannot build socialism simply by referring to textbooks or a music score. There is a need to reflect. The MSZMP does reflect. It is my conviction that if the party's policy had been different from the one pursued since 1957 our problems would now be much greater.

We cannot allow any questioning of the leading role of the party. However, assertion of the leading role should be constantly maintained. On the one hand, it is necessary to ask for people's views so that the party has at its disposal all the knowledge required when major decisions that affect the whole of society are made. The other point is that whenever we add new elements to our society the purpose and goals of these must be explained exactly. For instance, when we established the economic work collectives, which have both a purpose and a function, we failed to explain what their purpose and function are. We would have saved ourselves a lot of trouble if we had said clearly why we were establishing economic work collectives. The party will not receive the support of the masses if the membership and the masses do not understand what we are doing and why we are doing it. [end recording]

[Reporter] The general secretary of the National Council of the PPF also spoke in today's debate. Imre Pozsgay began his speech with an analysis of the experiences of the PPF movement and stated that in recent years the movement's activity has continued to grow:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] An important political condition for our further progress is that all the people should see that the country has party and administration leaders who can not only recognize but also handle the problems. The congress documents, the Central Committee report, the draft resolution, and Comrade Kadar's speech have convinced me that with strengthening and continuing the Leninist direction of our well-tried policy, as well as the MSZMP's tested methods, which have been evolved through great historic acts, we may control the methods through which we can successfully carry out the great tasks of the future. For this reason I support the proposals with conviction and I will work on the realization of the congress resolutions according to my abilities and best intentions.

Together with the communists working in the PPF and together with my colleagues, I will work, in the spirit of the socialist national unity, toward the policy adopted at the 13th MSZMP Congress, which is the policy of the entire nation and a national program, and with the realization of which the area of activity of the citizen, of the producing, creating persons, should expand. [end recording]

[Reporter] Imre Poszgay then spoke about the party policy's role in the PPF movement:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] The PPF is an extended political movement that includes the whole nation and gives a public life framework to the cooperation of party members and those outside the party, of believers and nonbelievers. In the spirit of common agreement, the PPF unites the country's social, political organizations, which, in the community's interest, represent the various classes and strata, thereby promoting the policy of alliance and the strengthening of socialist national unity. Our party has been the initiator and up to this day has been, and will continue to be, a guiding part of this movement.

The party is a part of the PPF, together with its policy and organization, and it is a part of the PPF not just through the representation of the party members working professionally in its various institutions; the party is the main force of this movement, which embraces all of the people; it is its guide and has a share in every important undertaking. [end recording]

[Reporter] The rise in the number of social debates, the democratism of work preparatory to the party, and state organs' decisions have also had an effect on the PPF.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] The communists working in the social organizations begin from the point that they perform just as important a job as those who are given tasks in the party organizations. They represent the party's policy in a way that can be followed by the entire people, and they mediate to the party society's way of thinking, the interests of the classes and strata. They are the constructive workers for good relations between society and party, and they help make it possible for the party, on the basis of the social interests, to integrate and utilize as a motive force society's very different special interests. It is important to speak about all this now because there will be a greater need than ever for the realization of the 13th congress resolution, for the joining of forces in all of society, for using the creative force and initiative of the people. [end recording]

[Reporter] In recent years, political and social debates have proved that the PPF is an apt institution for the revival of social activity, Imre Pozsgay pointed out, since revived activity has been and will be an important factor of social stability, of the strengthening of socialist national unity. The general secretary of the PPF National Council also said that the movement provides a framework for cooperation between party members and those outside the party, of believers and nonbelievers.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] From the point of view of our movement, the cooperation which has developed with the churches is of particular significance. Placing the relationship between the state and the churches on a constructive basis, the settlement of state-church relations in the long-term has created good political conditions for state-church cooperation. The adherents of religion have not only recognized socialism but have become hard-working participants in its construction. The churches have aligned themselves with their adherents and their homeland on this issue, and thus cooperation with them has extended from the tasks undertaken in the defense of peace to wider spheres of public life.

Good cooperation has developed between the PPF and the nationality leagues. I agree with the ideas contained in the report of the Central Committee both concerning the nationalities living in our country and the Hungarians living beyond our borders. The indispensable international condition for making further progress is that within the community of the socialist countries, here in central-eastern Europe, the peoples should consider their welfare to be interrelated; free themselves from prejudices and from a bad public mood; and, something which has arisen recently but is consequently even more challenging, nationalism. The peoples of the East European socialist countries should forget the curse of bad neighborliness, learning to value each other, to value the right of existence of minorities and nationalities belonging in this family circles, and to value their community-creating desires.

In the 20th century only a country that has learned and is applying the Leninist principle that the majority nation must show itself considerate toward the minority nation, and that has learned that the minorities can be not curbs but promoters of state-creating, society-developing endeavors can be considered a civilized state. [end recording]

[Reporter] Concerning the elections to be held in June, Imre Pozsgay has called attention to the need for more work than ever in information-dissemination; after all, the obligatory dual candidacy breaks with our electoral practice of 3 and 1/2 decades.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] The 8 March Presidential Council resolution set the election date for National Assembly deputies and council members as 8 June of this year. Those present here are well acquainted with the No 3 law of 1983, namely the new Electoral Law, on whose basis we must organize and conduct the 1985 national elections. The most fundamental new directive of the law is universalization of National Assembly deputy and council member multicandidacies. This in itself greatly increases the political significance of the elections and can increase the activity of the electorate. The new law is a significant step forward in the development of socialist democracy.

The period before the elections will be a period of learning, both for the activists of the PPF and for the electorate. After all, they must break with the habit of 3 and 1/2 decades, which could at first be the source of a great deal of confusion.

The electors should not approach the elections with indifference or with scepticism. More information and propaganda work than ever will be needed. The preparations for the elections have advanced sufficiently by now. The preliminary selection of suitable candidates for council membership proved more difficult than before. Even people who are active in public life are showing reluctance towards dual candidacies. They continue to raise the objection that those who are not elected will be considered failures. However, several have also said that they do not see much point in council membership. They are doubtful about whether they will have a genuine role in decision-making. This is because even now, very few people are aware that last year the Central Committee passed an important resolution aimed at developing the work of the National Assembly and the councils.

We must make more use of this resolution and must use the representational and self-governing character of the councils as an argument in the political preparations for the elections. [end recording]

[Reporter] Csabe Hamori, member of the MSZMP Central Committee, first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Youth League [KISZ] Central Committee, and a delegate from Budapest, said that one in two of Hungary's citizens is young, less than 30 years of age. As always, our party is paying great attention to that generation. At the same time it relies and builds on the knowledge, readiness for action, and commitment of the young. We are now quoting from his speech.

[Begin Hamori recording] Wherever possible, our policies encourage independent initiative, yet whenever someone wishes to bring about changes take action he is often obstructed by obstacles that are difficult to overcome. These obstacles are erected quite often by those who are generally in agreement with the principles but who, when it comes to concrete action, are unwilling or unable to act. They must be opposed.

Unfortunately, there are more than a few people even among the young who take things easy and are resigned to everything. We must help and encourage those who are willing to shoulder the difficulties and fight for the truth of their cause. The ability to stand firm and with courage is not a talent acquired at birth. The first example is given by the family. It would be a good idea to create an atmosphere in schools that gives prestige to independent action and thinking and to individuals. [end recording]

[Reporter] The difficulties of economic development also quite often distort our values. Many economic issues multiply the problems of the young. After all, even if only one particular example is referred to in this speech, it is obvious that the years when one starts one's career tend to coincide with the time when one establishes a family and moves into one's own home. As the first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee put it, young people starting work do not ask for charitable contributions but require opportunities. Speaking about the low incomes of those starting work, Csaba Hamori said the tensions are being caused not by social policy considerations but by the inadequate organization of work and by workplace management that was wary of bringing about changes. Yet, he immediately listed some good examples. He then continued his speech as follows:

[Begin Hamori recording] Currently the young are being accused of having softer hands than those of their elders and work has allegedly become more painful for them. Today there are some spoiled and badly educated young people; however, these are not characteristic features. This is proved by the young miners, construction workers, railway workers, and soldiers who stood their ground during this bitterly cold winter. I could also go on and speak about voluntary work projects, overtime, and young people's construction camps. The majority of the members of the enterprises that are springing up throughout the country are also young. In other words, our generation is by no means fleeing from work.

Economic work collectives, which provoked so much debate, are one of the sources of the additional work being carried out. In my view, these debates within the factory gates came to an end some time ago. Yet, they have been discussed at great length here. The way I see it, there is a need for these collectives in most places. It would be desirable if the need for these enterprise economic work collectives were to be challenged by a well functioning system of wage regulation.

Since less has been said about the darker side of the subject, let me mention that today there are still occasions when enterprise economic work collectives are formed to perform work which could be carried out during normal working hours through better organization and a more effective system of incentives. [end recording]

[Reporter] Naturally, Csaba Hamori spoke also about the activities of the youth organization.

[Begin Hamori recording] KISZ will continue to remain the united political mass organization of the young. All the same, we need to improve our work among the various strata and age groups so that we can make its work more effective. We must be brave in making changes. We have made a start on the preparation of our plans and we are going to submit our concepts to the party Central Committee.

It is already obvious today that we can only meet the many requirements and needs if work among the young does not remain the monopoly of KISZ. [words indistinct]

Last week we conferred a KISZ prize on the design collective behind the first Hungarian personal computer to be mass produced, namely, the Primo model. The computer has almost become the symbol of up-to-date economic activity. The design, production, and above all, the use of computers have become the way of assessing the success of the economy. Let me digress here briefly on a personal note. When I was at a technical university I wrote the computer program for my own dissertation on punch cards. That was a slow and clumsy method and sometimes I had to wait several days for the results. What we are seeing and experiencing today is the fact that a great many secondary school pupils can virtually talk to their personal computers. Times are changing. Students are also changing. The fact that a computer does not accept a sloppy answer also has an effect on thinking. We, the KISZ leaders, must adjust our methods to bring them in line with the training and requirements of the generation that is using computers. [end recording]

[Reporter] This is how Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, concluded his speech:

[Begin Hamori recording] The young have been and are characterized in many different ways. There is a gloomy picture of the young painted with dark colors, and this was rightly criticized yesterday by Comrade Lukacs. Moreover, the young are also described as being carefree, undisciplined, and given to illusions. That is a very bland picture of youth. Indeed, both these pictures are false. We are by no means carefree and I would claim that the young generations have human problems. It is in the interests of all of us to ensure that youthful dynamism and the energy that fully stretches the bodies and intellects of the young should promote a cause that serves the interests of all of society. After all, the fate of the young who follow us is the lasting responsibility of our own generation. [end recording]

Congress Presidium List

AU270810 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 26 March on page 1 carries a 2,100-word report on the general proceedings of the first session of the 13th MSZMP Congress on 25 March. During the course of the article, the paper notes the following people have been elected members of the MSZMP Congress Presidium:

Gyorgy Aczel, secretary of the Central Committee, Baranya County delegate;

Antal Apro, retired president of the National Assembly, Csongrad County delegate,

Valeria Benke, chairman of the editorial committee of TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Bacs-Kiskun County delegate;

Ivan T. Berend, department director and lecturer at the Marx Karoly University of Economic Sciences, Budapest delegate;

Istvan Bihari, chief director of the Chinoin factory of medicine and chemical products, Budapest delegate;

Sarolta Szatmari Birone, director of museums management in Komarom County, Komarom County delegate;

Janos Brutyo, retired chairman of the Central Control Commission, Nograd County delegate;

Istvanne Csaszar, metro driver, Budapest Transport Corporation delegate;

Janosne Csikasz, chief of factory unit in the Kecskemet canning factory, Bacs-Kiskom County delegate;

Istvan Dobrovics, party committee secretary at the Hungarian State Railways [MAV] Dunakeszi vehicle repairing unit, Pest County delegate;

Lajosne Duschek, president of the National Hungarian Women's Council, Budapest delegate;

Karoly Egresi, pensioner, secretary of residential area party committee, Budapest delegate;

Antal Ernszt, first secretary of the MSZMP 21st District Committee, Budapest delegate;

Sandor Farkas, commander of the Heves County Workers' Militia, Heves County delegate;

Andrasne Fazekas, unit chief at the Mezohegyes agricultural plant, Bekes County delegate;

Eva Nagy Filiczkine, director of the Community Center at Magyarnador village, Nograd County delegate;

Jeno Fock, retired premier, Gyor-Sopron County delegate;

Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions, Pest County delegate;

Janos Geczi, first secretary of the Nograd County MSZMP Committee, Nograd County delegate;

Karoly Grosz, first secretary of the MSZMP Budapest Committee, Budapest delegate;

Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Control Commission, Bekes County delegate;

Jozsef Hagenthurn, hewer, Mecsek mineral mining company delegate;

Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the Central Committee, Komarom County delegate;

Csaba Hamori, first secretary [title as published] of the Hungarian Communist Youth League, Budapest delegate;

Geza D. Hegedus, actor, Budapest delegate;

Istvan Herman, chief drilling tradesman, Hero of Socialist Labor, Bacs, Kiskun County delegate;

Dr Istvan Horvath, minister of interior, Ministry of Interior delegate;

Ernone Kardos, director of the Bekescsaba canning factory, Bekes County delegate;

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee, Budapest delegate;

Gyula Kallai, chairman of the National Council of the PPF, Hajdu-Bihar County delegate;

Lajosne Kincses, first secretary of the MSZMP Committee at Puspokladany (large village with administrative rights of a town), Hajdu-Bihar county delegate;

Jozsef Kiss, director general of the Alba Regia national building enterprise, Fejer County delegate;

Istvan Klein, chairman of the Kopka Afesz (general consumer and marketing cooperative) in Tamasi, Tolna County delegate;

Mihaly Korom, secretary of the Central Committee, Csongrad County delegate;

Dr Erzsebet Kosa, head surgeon and vice chief director of the Matra national health resort, Heves County delegate;

Jozsef Ladanyi, chairman of the District Council of Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County, Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County delegate;

Gyorgy Lazar, president of the Council of Ministers, Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County delegate;

Gyulane Leber, chairman of the Labod Joint Village Council, Somogy County delegate;

Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Somogy County delegate;

Karoly Majoros, first secretary of the MSZMP Committee of Szolnok County, Szolnok County delegate;

Laszlo Marothy, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers, Budapest delegate;

Imrene Mezo, retired director, Budapest delegate;

Lajos Mehes, retired first secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, Heves County delegate;

Zsigmond Nemes, secretary of MSZMP Committee in Pannonhalma large village, Gyor-Sopron County delegate;

Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the Central Committee, Zala County delegate;

Janos Olajos, chief furnaceman, Hero of Socialist Labor, Ozd furnace plant delegate;

Istvan Olah, colonel general, minister of defense, People's Army delegate;

Maria Ormos, rector of the Pannonius University of Science, Baranya County delegate;

Miklos Ovari, secretary of the Central Committee, Szolnok County delegate;

Gyula Papp, chairman of the Szeged Town Council, Csongrad Megye delegate;

Jozsefne Presing, teacher of the No 1 primary school in Papa, Veszprem County delegate;

Csaba Reti, opera singer, Csongrad County delegate;

Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly, Vas County delegate;

Erno Schmidt, director general of the west Hungarian wood working plant, Vas County delegate;

Sandor Sebes, retired first deputy minister, Bekes County delegate;

Janos Sebok, brigadier general, higher unit commander, People's Army delegate;

Ilona Padar Solteszne, secretary of the Szabolcs-Szatmar District Committee of the PPF, Szabolcs-Szatmar County delegate;

Gyorgy Szabo, vocational training teacher of the iron working and vehicle repair cooperative in Keszthely, Zala County delegate;

Istvan Szabo, chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council, chairman of the Voros Csillag agricultural cooperative in Nadudvar, Hajdu-Bihar County delegate;

Miklos Szemerszki, first secretary of the MSZMP Town Committee of Nyiregyhaza, Szsbolcs-Szatmar County delegate;

Zoltan Szepvolgyi, chairman of the Budapest capital council, Budapest delegate;

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, Hajdu-Bihar County delegate;

Istvan Takacs, student of the Debrecen Medical University, Hajdu-Bihar County delegate;

Andras Toth, first secretary of the Kisujszallas Town Committee of the MSZMP, Szolnok County delegate;

Gyulane Toth, kindergarten teacher of the No 5 kindergarten of Erd, Pest County delegate;

Istvan Tompe, retired president of the National Committee of Radio and Television, Somogy County delegate;

Gyula Varga, retired first secretary of the MSZMP Committee in Zala County, Zala County delegate;

Istvan Vas, director general of the Dalmand agricultural plant, Tolna County delegate;

Karoly Vasmanszki, colonel, commander of the Kiskunhalas District of the Ministry of Interior Border Guards, Border Guards delegate;

Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs delegate;

Jozsef Zarnoczi, first secretary of the 10th District Committee of the MSZMP, Budapest delegate;

Congress Working Committees

AU272036 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Mar 85 p 2

[Unattributed Report: "The Working Committees of the Congress"]

[Text] Leader of the Congress Secretariat: Karoly Nemeth. Members: Gyula Horn, Mihaly Jasso, Laszlo Karakas, Erno Lakatos, Imre Somogyi, Peter Varga.

President of the Appellate Committee: Karoly Herczeg. Members: Gezane Balazs, Gabor Borbely, Imre Katona, Imre Klenovics, Sandor Somogyi, Maria Kiss Tothne.

President of the Mandate Controlling Committee: Laszlo Ballai. Members: Miklosne Gondos, Gyorgy Juscsak, Imre Kocza, Janos Kovacs, Dr Eva Csendes Kuglerne, Istvanne Martos, Janos Merten, Istvan Molnar, Gyorgy Murai, Janosne Szabo.

President of the Appointing Committee: Sandor Gaspar. Members: Tibor Baranyai, Alajos Barta, Ferenc Boor, Robert Burgert, Dr Istvan Cserhati, Gyorgy Fejti, Katalin Birges Fodorne, Janos Geczi, Karoly Grosz, Andras Gyenes, Bela Gyorgyi, Istvanne Hegyi, Miklos Horvath, Gyorgy Kovacs, Lajos Krasznai, Janos Lukacs, Tibor Moravetz, Gyorgyne Olah, Sandor Radics, Sandor Sebes, Gyorgy Sikula, Janos Slanitz, Istvan Szabo, Palne Szepesy, Ilona Tatai, Gyula Varga, Istvan Varga, Jozsef Virag.

President of the Vote Collecting Committee: Ferenc Markovics. Members: Eva Barna, Gyorgy Barta, Jeno Csente, Robert Gal, Jenone Gede, Peter Gottschall, Gyorgy Keri, Erzsebet Torok Koosne, Istvan Kun, Mihaly Olajos, Miklos Szabo, Sandor Szekely, Laszlo Tisza, Sandorne Varga.

Head of the Editorial Committee: Miklos Ovari. Members : Gyorgy Aczel, Albert Antaloczy, Janos Berecz, Jozsef Dudla, Ferenc Havasi, Csaba Hamori, Istvan Katona, Mihaly Korom, Karoly Majoros, Laszlo Marothy, Jozsef Ponya, Pal Romany, Arnold Steiner, Matyas Szuros, Pal Tetenyi, Roza Toth.

NATIONAL ELECTION PRESIDIUM MEMBERS LISTED

AU280854 Budapest NEPSZABASAG in Hungarian 23 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] MTI -- The PPF National Council, on the basis of the election law, has appointed the following as members of the National Election Presidium: Dr Gyula Borics, state secretary of the Ministry of Justice; Laszlo Budai, turner; Dr Matyas Bundzsaklia, deputy director of the Public Administration and Administration Department of the MSZMP Central Committee; Karolyne Fekete, quality controller; Dr Lajos Istvan, chairman of the Vas County PPF Committee; Mihaly Jasso, secretary of the Budapest Committee of the MSZMP; Dr Laszlone Kopf, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee; Dr Bela Molnar, secretary of the National Council of the PPF; Dr Lajos Papp, state secretary [as published] and chairman of the council office of the Council of Ministers; Mate Sevaracz, head of the Petofi agricultural cooperative in Bacsalmas; Ferenc Solyom, secretary of the National Trade Union Council.

The Presidential Council has confirmed the appointment. The members of the National Election Presidium were sworn in the presence of Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council in the House of Parliament on 22 March.

At their constituent session the members elected as chairman, Dr Lajos Papp, state secretary and chairman of the council office of the Council of Ministers; as vice chairman, Dr Laszlone Kopf, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee; and as secretary, Dr Bela Molnar, secretary of the PPF National Council.

The PPF commissions concerned gave instructions to the responsible councils executive commissions to confirm the appointments of members of election presidiums of the capital, the towns, capital districts, and villages. Following this, the members of these election presidiums were sworn in the presence of the responsible chairmen of the councils.

The duty of the election presidiums is to supervise the legality of elections in their area, to take action to restore legal order if necessary, and to cooperate in organizing the elections. The National Election Presidium will decide on the acceptance of candidates and will make the decisions public. It will also pass judgment on possible criticism of the work of the local election presidium operating at the center of the National Assembly's constituency during the election of candidates.

1984 COOPERATIVE FARM OUTPUT; 1985 FORECAST

LD270223 Budapest MTI in English 1428 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI) -- Last year agricultural producers' cooperatives were extremely successful. Recent plenary meetings of cooperative memberships concluded that output increased an average four percent, and value of output of the 1,279 cooperatives' farms stood at over 225,000 million forints. The cooperatives' general assemblies evaluated last year's productoin with measured optimism. As the livestock count is high, the plan for this year foresees only moderate increase, and the level of crop production is to be maintained, with a planned increase of maize of 7 percent, of rice and leguminous crops of 7 to 8 percent, of spring barley 2 percent and of sugar beet 7 percent.

Last year the record grain crop exceeded 15.5 million tonnes on an area of 2.9 million hectares, and per capita meat output exceeded 155 kilos. Cooperatives farms account for over 80 percent of grain production, two thirds of which are used as feed in livestock farming.

Last year the cereal output of cooperative farms exceeded 1983's by 1.4 million tonnes -- an increase of 23 percent.

Last year 12 of the 19 counties experienced drought. The hardest hit areas were the central part of Alfold and Csongrad and Bacs-Kiskun Counties in the south. Two thirds compensation of the hundreds of millions of forints losses incurred were paid by the central relief fund and the government.

Last year output of industrial crops increased 5 percent. Sunflower output was over the target and sugar beet below, although it had a higher sugar content. Output of tomatoes, paprika, cucumber, green peas, onions and fruit was ten percent less than in 1983.

The output of livestock farmers increased 3 percent. In line with changes in external demand, development was the most dynamic in pig and poultry raising with a 4 percent increase but cattle raising stagnated.

Earnings of cooperative members increased 4.5 percent. In the most prosperous farms, almost 40 percent of the total, per capita gross annual income reached 80,000 forints and per capita profit 20,000 forints.

This year cooperative farms plan to increase crop production and livestock farming output by 3 percent and non-agricultural side activities such as food processing, industrial manufacture and services 7.4 percent. It is planned to increase slaughter cattle production by 4 percent, and maintain the level of pig stock but sell 4 percent more slaughter pigs. Poultry output is expected to rise by 3 percent and slaughter sheep output by 16 percent.

The cooperative farms are dynamically expanding vegetable production and expect an 11 percent rise in output. With the new vineyards grape output is expected to expand by over 10 percent and fruit production by nearly 10 percent.

TRYBUNA LUDU DECRIES 'CLERICAL ADVENTURISM'

LD271648 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 27 Mar 85

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Warsaw, March 27 -- "We do not divide people into believers and non-believers, but those who are prepared to get together over strengthening the foundations of the native home, and those who try to undermine them," the party daily TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today in an article on religious policy and church-state relation.

Pointing out the stability of Poland's constitutional freedom of conscience and religion and separation of church and state, it recalled that one of these fundamental rules is ban on spreading hatred or dissent over nationality, race or creed. Said TRYBUNA:

"But in the last few years, there emerged in Poland sort of islands of clerical adventurism, spread also in churches, some which turn into rally halls, where [words indistinct] strike at the state, its alliances and basic values of Poland's social system."

The paper quoted Gen. Jaruzelski as saying in Szczecin recently that "reaffirming again our good will and the lasting character of the religious policy of the socialist state, with growing concern and impatience. We await under standing and taking into account the stand on this issue, aired by the party and government.

SOLIDARITY ACCUSES REGIME OF MURDERING OPPONENTS

AU271240 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] New York, Mar 27 (AFP) -- The Polish Government is responsible for the death of as many as 17 political opponents during the past year, according to two reports released here by supporters of the outlawed Solidarity union.

A 131-page report, compiled by the opposition Helsinki Committee in the Poland and smuggled to the West, accuses Polish authorities of the deaths of two Solidarity supporters.

The other report, compiled by the New York-based Committee in Support of Solidarity, charges Polish Government with killing 15 other political opponents in 1984. The reports were released here last night by the Committee in Support of Solidarity.

The Helsinki and Solidarity Committee reports said 88 people have been killed by Polish police since Solidarity was disbanded in December 1981. The most highly publicized of the murders was that of Roman Catholic Priest Jerzy Popieluszko last October.

The Helsinki report dealt at length with the deaths of Solidarity activists Piotr Bartoszcze, who was found dead on February 7 last year, and Boguslaw Walczak, who died after being taken into police custody on March 8 of that year.

The 81-page Solidarity Committee report, which accused Polish authorities of 15 murders, was based on reports in underground newspapers published in Poland. It accused the Polish Government of continuing "gross and massive violations of human rights" despite having declared an amnesty last July.

URBAN CORRECTS INACCURACIES IN WESTERN MEDIA

LD271854 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 27 -- The Polish Government press spokesman yesterday corrected some inaccuracies published lately by Western papers or reported in Western radio broadcasts. Minister Jerzy Urban quoted the French newspaper LA CROIX as saying that Mr. Castaing "was kidnapped and tortured by the Polish political police despite all acknowledged international customs". The government spokesman protested against charging Poland with kidnapping and torturing on the basis of poor evidence. Quoting FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, the BBC reported protest actions in various Polish factories, including an alleged strike at the Warsaw factory named after Rosa Luxemburg, a "Caro" plant, at the building materials factory in Myszkow near Jarocin and at the "Ursus" agricultural tractor factory here.

"A sharp dispute over the wage rates with some women workers has been going on at the Rosa Luxemburg plant throughout March. All questions connected with remuneration were to be explained in connection with these reports, Urban said: "On January 9, 24 workers stopped working for one hour and a half at the factory in Jarocin because they were shifted to other tasks, which was related to lowering a piece rate. This year, there were no stoppages, at least the planned ones, at the "Ursus" factory. There were stoppages in production though caused by the shortage of electric materials there, till March 25, but the explanation did not work. However, nobody proclaimed any strike there or went on strike there.

"I could not establish whether or where the "Caro" plant exists. Therefore, I cannot say anything about it," Urban said.

Quoting Warsaw Western correspondents, Radio Free Europe said March 20 that the militia prevented a man, Jan Karon, for whom the militia were said to have created problems, from setting himself on fire in Opole. RFE said he had arrived in front of the local PUWP headquarters to publicly protest against methods of the militia and security services in their treatment of Solidarnosc activists by the act of setting himself on fire. The radio also said that he had talks with the first secretary of the PUWP viovodship committee in Opole.

Urban said things looked like that: "Karon neither set himself on fire nor made any such attempt at all. He could only have made such threats. Karon has been previously punished for deeds having nothing in common either with politics or Solidarnosc.

"In 1984, Karon wrote a letter to activist of the former Solidarnosc Kazimierz Androszewski, now residing in Sweden, and sent copies of the letter to Radio Free Europe and to Sejm Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec. The letter said Karon was persecuted by the militia. On last March 19, he went to the headquarters of the PUWP voivodship committee in Opole and the voivodship public prospecutor's office filing a complaint over the alleged persecutions. Talks held as a result did not establish the symptoms of any real persecutions".

The government spokesman denied that Maciej Szczepanski had allegedly been rehabilitated on the motion of the public prosecutor's office, as the Austrian daily DIE PRESSE reported March 19.

SZALAJDA ADDRESSES SEJM ON FUEL, ENERGY

AU261012 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Mar 85 p 4

["Government Information on the Fuel-Energy Program Until the Year of 2000 and on the Development of Nuclear Energy, Presented by Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda"]

[Excerpt] The government program for fuel and energy until the year of 2000 provides for the construction of nuclear power stations of 7,860 and 9,860 megawatts.

The operation of nuclear power stations in the PPR at the end of the eighties is a necessity dictated mainly by our fuel-energy resources and by the needs of environmental protection.

With regard to the development of nuclear energy we are far behind not only the most industrialized countries such as the USSR or West European countries, but also behind our immediate neighbors, the CSSR and the GDR.

In line with our fuel-energy program the Zarnowiec power station, which is under construction, should produce first results in 1990. This station should be completed in 1994 and should develop the power of 1,860 kilowatts. In 1987 we plan to begin the construction of the Kujawy or Warta power stations developing 4,000 megawatts and to put the first power block in production in 1994. The third nuclear power station of the same size should begin to be constructed in 1989. The location of this station should be determined at the beginning of 1986.

The government fuel-energy program also provides for the expansion and reconstruction of our domestic potential for producing specialist energy machines and equipment for domestic use and for export, under the comprehensive cooperation agreement among the CEMA countries.

When constructing nuclear power stations, we must bear in mind that it is necessary to launch extensive publicity concerning the true and imagined dangers affecting the area in which a nuclear power station is located. This is because world experience tells us that the construction of the first nuclear stations in a country has usually made it necessary to break through considerable psychological resistance of the people.

The production of the planned volume of energy by the year 2000 and the transportation of this energy will require investments costing Z6.7-Z7.8 billion in 1986-2000.

Taking into account the scale of the intended undertakings, we should be aware of the fact that they will have an impact on the development of the individual sectors of the national economy. That is why the Sejm would greatly help the government in its further work if it approves of the following lines of activity:

-- It will be necessary to adapt the country's socioeconomic development to the volume of fuels and energy we actually have.

-- It is necessary to maximally limit the demand for fuels and energy through reducing the consumption of energy in our development and through modernizing our present technological base; the government's comprehensive program for rationalizing the consumption of fuels and energy should be obligatory.

-- The draft national socioeconomic plan for 1986-90 should provide at least the minimum investments for the development of the fuel-energy base; during work on the long-term plan beyond 1990, measures should be considered that would accelerate the rate of these investments.

-- The solution of the problem of financing development of the fuel-energy base will necessitate changes in the distribution of the national income in view of the fact that, compared with previous years, it will be necessary to greatly increase the investiment outlays in this regard.

-- The economic inventives for rationalizing the consumption of fuels and energy should include the policy of expensive energy raw materials; a certain part of the price hikes relating to fuels and energy must not be included in the already fixed prices for products and should be borne by enterprises with the help of savings.

-- If we are to produce 195 million metric tons of coal a year up to the year 2000 and 211 million metric tons after that year, we must maintain the 6-day workweek in mines.

-- Because of the need to provide the necessary fuels and energy for the national economy and because the nuclear production of electricity and heat is not so costly as is less damaging to the natural environment, it would be desirable to build nuclear power stations developing 9,860 megawatts by the year 2000.

-- The development of the production of equipment for mining and energy, especially for nuclear energy, should be regarded as one of the basic conditions for supplying the national economy with fuels and energy.

-- In view of the specific nature of the fuel-energy industries and of the solutions applying to them the Sejm should consider the desirability of separate legislation on the legal status of the enterprises of these industries.

GUCWA INTERVIEWED ON WORK OF SEJM, DEPUTIES

AU261055 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Mar 85 pp 3, 5

[Interview with Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa by Krzysztof Mikolajczyk: "A Difficult and Responsible Term of Office"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Mikolajczyk: Are there any prospects for making the post of deputy a professonal one?

Gucwa: As far as a decision to make at least some deputies professionals is concerned, this is up to the state's political authorities. However, I can say from my own experience that 35-40 percent of the Sejm should consist of deputies who can devote all their time to parliamentary work. But I must say that during this term of office, the deputies have been solid, hard-working, and ambitious, even though the eighth term of office has been considerably extended and is taking place during an extremely difficult political period.

Mikolajczyk: But perhaps a longer term of office improves the quality of the Sejm's work.

Gucwa: It seems to me that there is another way to do so, for example to elect the best deputies for another term. After all, in most parliaments of the world deputies perform their functions over more than one term of office.

A deputy who has passed his political and practical test is respected by his party and presented for subsequent terms of office. I know about this because I am constantly in touch with parliaments and parliamentarians in other countries. The chairman of the Brazilian Senate, whom we recently hosted in the Sejm, has already been a deputy for 40 years. Thus, experience from all over the world shows that tried and tested activitists who know the mechanisms of work inside a parliament are employed for a long time. That is why they should always be considered as candidates for deputies. To put it simply, it is necessary that some deputies in one term of office continue their work in subsequent terms, and the electors understand this. What is more, the position of parliamentary clubs or factions depends to a large extent on the experience of the deputies representing these bodies.

Mikolajczyk: But the Sejm is not a collection of independent parliamentarians. It is an area where the stance of political parties and other groups that shape state policy is presented. How can the activity of deputies' clubs and circles during the eighth term of office be assessed from the point of view of the Sejm marshal?

Gucwa: Very well, compared to previous terms of office: During previous terms of office, deputies' clubs heavily manipulated deputies and interfered with their views and stances. They also availed themselves of club discipline too often. This meant that deputies were unable to reveal their real stance not only at plenary sessions, but also at committee meetings. During the eighth term of office, however, a deputy has been able to put forward his own knowledge and convictions if he wanted to and knew how to.

The Sejm's internal life is very democratic. The sessions are open. At plenary sessions, we have voted on stances adopted by the commissions. I do not think I will be wrong if I say that right now, a deputy's position depends primarily on his dedication, knowledge, and desire to work.

Mikolajczyk: But perhaps this does not mean that the parties have given up their right to demand party discipline from their members?

Gucwa: Of course not. Such a practice would be impossible, and is unknown in every country of the world. It is important, however, that this discipline, based on the duty of joint voting, not be abused. During this term of office, this discipline has only applied to matters that are fundamental to the political line of the PZPR and other parties. This situation is correct, and that is the way it is and should be inside all parliaments.

Mikolajczyk: Another matter that affects the Sejm's position is its relationship with the government. Has the process of democratization in this sphere extended as far as elsewhere?

Gucwa: Let me give an example. Some 90 percent of the bills presented by the government have been amended during deputy work. The government has accepted this and approved of it. This means that the government attaches great importance to the Sejm's work and counts on the Sejm. During this term of office, it has also happened that some topic was stuck at the committee stage because each side stubbornly clung to its position. In such cases, we consulted the government leadership on this matter, and the Sejm's stance met with understanding every time.

Mikolajczyk: One hears that cooperation between deputies teams and the administration is not shaping up too well...

Gucwa: There are voivodships where this cooperation is very good or correct, but there are also some where deputies are having greater or lesser difficulties with this.

I know of a case where one deputy was not received by a voivoda for months. We told the government about this, and it reacted accordingly. Unfortunately, this reaction has not eliminated such cases, though it has restricted them considerably. To put it simply, not all state officials have learned to work in a way that conforms to the socialist renewal line yet. Neither have they learned to act in a democratic way and accept criticism.

SUPREME COURT RECEIVES POPIELUSZKO TRIAL PAPERS

LD272053 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] The Torun Voivodship Court has handed over the file in the case against the perpetrators of the kidnapping and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko to the Supreme Court. The documents were handed over in connection with the appeal made by the defense counsels of the sentenced persons -- Grzegorz Piotrowski, Adam Pietruszka, Leszek Pekala and Waldemar Chmielewski -- against the sentence passed on 7 February.

RCP PLENUM CONCLUDES; CEAUSESCU NOMINATED

AU271953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 27/3/1985 -- Under the chairmanship of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, the CC of the RCP met in plenum on March 26 and 27.

A vibrant tribute was brought by the plenum to the general secretary to mark his twenty years at the head of the party. Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, underscored the qualities of the RCP and Romania's leader as a revolutionist, patriot and statesman, and his contribution to the foundation and implementation of the whole party and state policy.

The plenum considered and approved: a report on the elections to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils; a programme of measures for the fulfillment of the country's economic and social development plan for 1985 and in preparation for the good implementation of the 1986 plan; a report on the 1984 political-organizational activity of party committees and organizations to give effect to party decisions and directives.

The plenary meeting discussed and approved a report on the work of party and state bodies and mass organizations in 1984 for the implementation of the party cadre policy and a report on the way the working people's proposals, intimations, complaints and requests were handled in 1984. The plenary meeting also examined and endorsed a report on the party and state's international activity in 1984 and the main foreign policy orientations for 1985.

The Central Committee was highly appreciative of the RCP and Romanian state's international activity in 1984, which it showed to have fully accorded with the demands for the firm promotion of cooperation, disarmament and peace, of respect for the peoples' inalienable right to decide their own destinies.

The plenary meeting highlighted that the realism and dynamism of Romania's foreign policy, its contribution to the settlement to the problems facing mankind, its prestige worldwide were and are intimately linked to President Nicolae Ceausescu's deciding activity.

The plenum voiced the determination of the party and the Romanian state to make further perservering efforts to fulfill the Romanian people's will of peace, independence and cooperation, and show its militant solidarity with the progressive, democratic anti-imperialist forces everywhere.

A proposal was put before the plenum to recommend the Grand National Assembly [GNA] the re-election of the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu as president of Romania.

The proposal was made by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council in the name of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, and was unanimously approved.

Also by a unanimity of vote the plenum endorsed the Executive Political Committee's proposals for the composition of the State Council, the government and the GNA Bureau, that are to be submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

The closing session was addressed by Nicolae Ceausescu.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES SDUF PLENUM 27 MARCH

AU272116 Bucharest AGERPRS in English 2004 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 27/3/1985 -- On March 27 in the afternoon the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] met in plenum.

The SDUF National Council paid homage to Nicolae Ceausescu on twenty years since his election at the head of the Romanian Communist Party. Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, spoke about the significance of the event.

The speaker expressed all the homeland's sons' feelings of valuation and gratitude for Nicolae Ceausescu, their unflinching determination to do everything in their power for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania, to steadfastly work, alongside the advanced sociopolitical forces everywhere, for the triumph of the ideals of peace, collaboration and understanding among peoples.

The plenum debated and approved a report on the March 17 elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils as well as a programme of measures regarding the SDUF organizations' tasks for mobilizing the working people toward fulfilling the single national plan for the country's socioeconomic development in 1985 and the preparations for the appropriate implementation of the 1986 plan.

The participants who addressed the plenum expressed, on behalf of the SDUF members, the wish of the Romanian people as a whole, that Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, be reelected to the high office of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Taking the floor, Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first vice-chairman of the SDUF National Council, submitted, as empowered by the CC of the RCP, the proposal that the plenary meeting recommend the Grand National Assembly the reelection of Nicolae Ceausescu to the highest office of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The proposal was unanimously adopted.

The SDUF National Council Plenum also adopted in unanimity the proposals of the RCP Central Committee regarding the composition of the State Council, the government and the GNA Bureau, which will be submitted for approval to the Ninth Grand National Assembly during its first session.

In his closing speech Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the recent elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and to the people's councils and showed that their returns constituted a powerful manifestation and assertion of the revolutionary worker democracy, of the fact that the masses, the whole Romanian people take direct part -- in various organizations and bodies of the revolutionary democracy -- in working out and endorsing development plans and programmes, in Socialist Romania's home and foreign policy-making. We may say that the quasi-unanimous participation of the whole people in elections and the votes given to the candidates of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front powerfully prove our entire nation's resolve to do everything possible to build its future purposefully and freely.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked the SDUF National Council for the unanimous approval of the proposal to be reelected to the high office of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

From the high rostrum of the plenary meeting of the SDUF National Council I assure the whole people that in the future too I shall unswervingly serve our nation's interests, the cause of socialism, of people's welfare, the cause of international peace and cooperation, that I shall spare no effort to fulfil the high tasks and responsibilities entrusted on me in the best conditions.

Pointing out that the international cooperation and peace policy is an outstanding part of the RCP and SDUF policies, Nicolae Ceausescu said: We shall do our best, in the future too, to contribute to the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first of all, for a policy of peace and cooperation with all the states of the world, irrespective of social system.

NICU CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES VIENNA UN YOUTH SESSION

AU260811 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1927 GMT 25 Mar 85

[Text] Vienna AGERPRES 25/3/1985 -- Making an address at the opening of the fourth session of the UN Consultative Committee for the International Youth Year (IYY) that opened in Vienna, the chairman of the committee, Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], minister of youth affairs, talked about the major significance of the reunion -- the first in the whole system of the United Nations to mark the IYY in the world. He pointed out that the mandate entrusted in consensus by the UN General Assembly stipulates as a main task of the committee the working out of draft guidelines for future programmes in the field of youth affairs and the observance of their adequate implementation. These guidelines will have to be a guide of action, inspiration and evaluation for the factors in charge of youth affairs, and are meant to provide the implementation of one of the most important targets of the IYY, that is to provide continuity to the preoccupations of states, of the UN organization, of the UN institutions and bodies that deal with the youth.

In conclusion the speaker showed that the results of the session and the recommendations to be endorsed will have a direct impact on the examination of the problems of the International Youth Year during the 40th session of the UN General Assembly, the UN world conference for the IYY. The Consultative Committee will have a chance to prove it is the collective representative of the state political will to turn the International Youth Year into a major event of ample and deep-going implications for the future of the young generation.

Announces Sep Conference

AU271400 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1107 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Vienna, AGERPRES 27/3/1985 -- Future programmes on youth-related affairs should become a stimulating factor of action, inspiration and assessment for further wide-scope activities devoted to the young generation everywhere, showed the Romanian representative to the fourth session of the UN Advisory Committee for the IYY which got under way in Vienna to examine the guidelines of future programmes on youth-related affairs.

The proceedings of the session are chaired by Nicu Ceausescu, chairman of the UN Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year. Highlighting the significance of the current session -- the first action at an international level within the UN system in the context of the observance proper of the International Youth Year -- the Romanian representative showed that the numerous events devoted to the IYY contributed to the young generations growing participation in the settlement of the vital issues facing mankind.

He referred to the actions taken in his country under the aegis of the National Committee for the IYY, with emphasis on a recent initiative concerning the organization of a world conference of national committee for the IYY in Bucharest over September 3-6, 1985 on the theme the Youth of the Year 2000 -- Participation, development, peace. This conference, he pointed out, will provide an opportunity for a broad exchange of experience on the results scored in the implementation of the programmes for the observance of the IYY at a national, regional and international level, as well as for discussions on the youth's role and place in the promotion of development and peace in the world.

NAVIGATION ON DANUBE, CANAL RESUMED AFTER REPAIRS

AU261924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/3/1985 -- Along the entire Romanian sector of the Danube, inclusive of the secondary branches, navigation proceeds again. Both the domestic and the international navigation is open on the Danube-Black Sea Canal, too. The time when the canal could not be traversed owing to very rough weather conditions was used intensely to check and fix the hydromechanic, electric and other equipment of the Agigea and Cernavoda Gates, the equipment and installations for ship control and water management, the pilot ships and other equipment of the canal.

Passenger transport has resumed along the Danube.

OLTEANU RECEIVES U.S. JOINT CHIEFS CHAIRMAN

AU271946 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 27/3/1985 -- The Romanian minister of national defence, Colonel-General Constantin Olteanu, received on March 27 General John W. Vessey Jr., president of the U.S. Joint Committee of Chiefs of Staff, now on a visit to Romania.

BRIEFS

NEW OIL WELLS -- Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/3/1985 -- Great efforts are made by Romanian oil workers to drill new wells and put them to operation. More than 120 wells have started production this year bringing the combined oil flow to 640 tons daily. Most of the new wells -- 65 -- have been operated by the Bolintin drilling and extraction trust with a total output of 200 tons of oil. Other drilling and extraction trusts followed its example: Pitesti with 15 wells, Tirgu-Jiu with 8, a.o. The main task now is to reached the planned daily extraction levels and recoup the arrears in January-February so that the plan for this year -- of 12.6 million tons -- may be fulfilled. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 25 Mar 85 AU]

TANJUG DETAILS 1984 EXPORTS, TRADE DEFICIT

LD280045 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0045 GMT 27 Mar 85

[By Aleksandar Borcic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 27 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav economy is increasingly turning to export as the key factor for boosting production.

Although last years foreign trade performance fell short of plan, significant success was achieved in the reduction of foreign trade deficit. Especially important in this respect is the vigorous export growth at the end of last year, providing a better starting position this year. This gives rise to expectations that the foreign trade deficit will continue to decline and that the goals in the domain of foreign economic relations will be attained.

Yugoslavia last year exported 10 billion 254 million dollars worth of goods, or 6 percent more than in 1983 albeit 12 less than planned.

The export failure was partly counterweighed by the reduction of imports which totalled 996 million dollars, as against the planned 13.1 billion. As a result, Yugoslavia's foreign trade deficit last year was almost at the planned level, totalling one billion 741 million dollars instead of the envisaged one billion 654 million. This was the fifth successive year in which the improvement in the balance of trade was recorded. In 1979 the trade deficit amounted to 7.2 billion dollars.

The results in the commodity exchanges with the hard currency markets are even more impressive. The trade deficit with these countries was reduced from 6.6 billion dollars in 1979 to 1.3 billion dollars in 1984. Evidently, foreign trade is clearing the way out of the crisis the Yugoslav economy has run into primarily because of the excessive borrowing abroad. Yugoslavia last year paid 85 percent imports with commodity exports. In 1983 the imports were covered by exports to the extent of 83 percent.

The negotiations on foreign liquidity with international financial institutions, the governments of creditor-countries and foreign banks were brought to a close only in mid last year (for this year they have already been completed). Due to this delay, Yugoslavia imported from convertible currency countries 1.1 billion dollar worth less goods than envisaged. This had an adverse effect on the volume of exports which depend on the import of raw materials and semi-manufactures from hard currency markets.

The Yugoslav-made goods which sold less favourably on foreign markets include metal manufacturing industry products, tobacco, meat and meat products, drinks, cereals, paints and varnishes, medical and pharmaceutical products, mineral fertilizers, yarns and fabrics. The export of these products, which account for 20 percent of total Yugoslav exports, was some 13 percent less than in 1983. The export of other products increased to the planned level.

Viewed from the aspect of by-area orientation,Yugoslav exports to the hard currency regions grew at a quicker pace, just as planned, and recorded an increase of 10 percent. Especially successful were exports to the developed Western countries which increased 22 percent compared with 1983, while imports from these countries were covered by exports to the extent of 72 percent. In 1979 only 42 percent imports were covered by exports to developed Western countries.

As for the by-area distribution of exports, deliveries to the developing countries last year declined, contrary to the intentions. Already in 1983, exports to the developing countries decreased 6 percent, and last year this trend continued bringing the figure to 16 percent. It should be noted that the decline in exports to the developing countries was due to the grave economic situation in these countries. Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade Milenko Bojanic told a recent press conference that the government would take special measures for advancing economic cooperation with the developing countries.

Export to the clearing payment area last year was one percent up on the preceding year, while imports from this area increased 4 percent.

INFLATION RATE GROWING FASTER THAN EXPECTED

AU271403 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Mar 85 p 6

[CTK report: "Growing Cost of Living; an Adverse Consequence of the Law on Free Price Formation in the SFRY"]

[Text] Belgrade (CTK) -- In the first 2 months of the year, the inflation rate and prices in Yugoslavia have grown faster than expected. According to the latest data of the Federal Statistical Office in Belgrade, at the end of February inflation stood at 68.2 percent, which is only 1.8 percent less than its planned growth for the whole of 1985.

In this situation, the Yugoslav Government is preparing several measures that would limit the monopoly position of Yugoslav producers on the domestic market and reduce the rate of inflation. VJESNIK, the Zagreb daily, wrote in this connection recently that regardless of the final effect of these measures, it is certain that they are coming too slowly.

At any rate, the new law on free price formation, which came into force in the SFRY last fall, resulted in a downright price explosion in January, which increased the cost of living 14.7 percent in the first 2 months of the year. In the course of last year already, the government wanted to deal with the situation for example, by reducing social consumption and thereby forcing the producers to cut prices. However, this measure did not yield the anticipated effect. On the contrary, producers continue to raise the prices of their production, which they offset by limiting production, a method which is at variance with the plan of the SFRY's economic and social development in 1985.

VJESNIK responded to this situation by writing that everything that is happening in the Yugoslav economy today reduces the living standards of the working people. The purchasing power of the population is declining and excessive stockpiles of goods are piling up in the enterprises. So far, however, even this fact has not forced producers to reduce prices; on the contrary, prices continue to rise.

Although this is absurd, it corresponds to the present state of the Yugoslav economy when some people can calmly live without having to work, just from interest. If this gives one a headache, VJESNIK says in conclusion, aspirin will hardly help, because it, too, is now 140 percent more expensive.

SUKRIJA URGES VIGOR IN IMPLEMENTING TASKS

AU262050 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 85 p 6

[D. Lazarevic report]

[Excerpts] If it is true of society -- and it is -- that nothing can go on in the old way and that everything must be changed, then this holds true for the SAWP, as well. It is good that discussion about social policy, which is at the focus of attention, is planned for the next Presidium session, but it will not be good if we only repeat the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session, because that way we could generate feelings of powerlessness and discontent among the people.

These words from Milan Rakas at the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium yesterday illustrate the spirit of the debate on the operational program of activity of the Federal Conference and Presidium in the first half of the year directed toward implementing the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session.

Warning that we have to free ourselves from the illusions that session can solve and answer all questions, Ali Sukrija pointed to some prerequisites needed for implementing the 16th session conclusions and changing whatever hampers the quicker development of society.

"It is a historic battle, a battle against time and to gain time. We have to gain time, we have to eliminate large delays that encumber not only our practical work, but also our way of thinking, researching, studying, and seeking solutions," Sukrija said. He also expressed his feeling that the greatest danger lies in "conciousness now being captivated by kind of expectation that something is going to happen somewhere that will make me or somebody else change his mind."

"We have to convince ourselves that nobody has the right to expect someone else to do something, but that each must do his own job. I must perform my own duty in order to have the right to expect and demand that someone else do the same. These declarations that 'much is expected from this meeting, this plenum, this gathering...' have a disintegrative, pacifying, and soporific effect."

"One must enter this battle openly and directly, and in the struggle one will not be able to avoid an open battle, with casualties and clashes. You cannot enter a conflict with an enemy assuming that nothing at all will happen to you, that you will not even be scratched. This idea must win out and become a criterion for differentiation as well. We rely on the workers class and call on it to win the battle for progress, but our great responsibility is to be in the front lines of this battle and to be in the front lines everywhere, including in our highest organs and institutions.

JAKOVLEVSKI RECEIVES CHINESE STUDY DELEGATION

LD280037 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG) -- Trpe Jakovlevski, LCY Central Committee Presidium Executive Secretary, today received a study delegation of the CPC Central Committee led by Chen Daosheng, CPC Central Committee International Liaison Department bureau director.

During the visit, which was organized within the framework of the program of cooperation between the LCY and the CPC, the CPC Central Committee delegation studied the implementation of the LC's social role, the development of our political system and intra-national relations.

STRUGA LC DEBATES 'DEVIATIONS,' RECALLS MEMBERS

LD272325 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Struga, 26 Mar (TANJUG) -- At its session today, attended by Vasil Tupurkovski, Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium member, the Struga LC Municipal Committee unanimously adopted its stands on deviations and their proponents in cadre policy, the distribution and use of the "Green Plan" credits, and house-building loans by citizens from 1974-1984.

The decision was adopted that Veli Saipi, Struga LC Municipal Committee member, be relieved of this position and that he and Jovica Popovski be recalled as members of the LC Municipal Committee delegation and thereby also from the Macedonian SAWP municipal conference.

Kire Srbinovski, LC Municipal Committee delegate in the Sociopolitical Council of the Struga Municipal Assembly, has also been recalled. He and Vlado Gjorgonovski have been recalled from the LC Municipal Committee Commission for Socioeconomic Relations. Pero Baljukovski and Fuad Cazimovski are no longer members of the Commission for Appeals, Complaints, and Petitions. Kenan Bajrami has been recalled from the Commission for Ideological Work and Marxist Education. Mustafa Abedinovski is no longer a member of the Struga LC Municipal Committee Statutory Commission.

Taking part in the discussion Vasil Tupurkovski stressed that the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium has given unanimous support for the Struga LC Municipal Committee stands on deviant phenomena in the municipality. This only proves, he said, that unity of action prevails in the municipality, thus making it possible for us to succeed in our efforts to eliminate negative phenomena. The activity of Struga Communists is a good example for other towns in the republic to undertake actions to expose all negative phenomena.

DJURANOVIC HOLDS ECONOMIC TALKS IN TITOVO UZICE

LD271159 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 26 Mar (TANJUG) -- The question of how to find resources for a more dynamic economic development, and for expanding production and developing the economic structure following the period of stagnation in our economic development and decline in accumulation on the whole, is the key question for the country at the present juncture. This was stressed by Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, during his talks today with representatives of Titovo Uzice's sociopolitical and economic life. Djuranovic arrived in Titovo Uzice this morning. He is accompanied by Dusan Ckrebic, Presidency president of the SR of Serbia, and by Branislav Ikonic, Aleksandar Mitrovic, Petar Antonijevic, Dusan Jovanovic, Dr Vojislav Micovic, and Lieutenant Colonel General Sposoje Todorovic.

At the start of the visit the SFRY Presidency president laid a wreath at the partisan cemetery in Dovarje and then visited the municipal assembly where Balsa Govedarica, municipality president, Rados Stojcic, first partisan work organization director general, and Aleksandar Simovic, board of management of the Slobodan Penezic Krcun copper and aluminum mills chairman, informed the guests in detail about the current trends in the municipality and in the two largest work collectives in Titovo Uzice.

It was stated on this occasion that despite the aggravated conditions of economic operations, the economy of the municipality has achieved good results, recorded an increase of over 6 percent in production, and is operating without losses. Last year's imports amounted to 12.3 billion dinars and the average personal income was 27,000 dinars. Despite economic difficulties, the political situation and atmosphere are favorable. Assessing these results as positive, Veselin Djuranovic stressed the need for increased attention to be paid to the quality of economic performances and particularly to business operations.

In his reference to the problem of how to finance expanded reproduction Djuranovic stated that in the last few years the economy has reduced its participation in income, but in contrast to previous years the present reduction does not result from public expenditure and cost of welfare services but from increased interest rates. The portion of income spent on public expenditure and welfare services is decreasing, while the share of interest rates in the distribution of income is increasing. Objectively speaking, this narrows the scope in which work organizations would create better conditions for financing their development programs by a more rational distribution of income and increase accumulation of funds.

It is obvious, Djuranovic said, that with such an economic structure we cannot stabilize our country's balance of payments since in that way the share of raw materials and reproduction materials in exports increases while that of final products decreases. In international relations we are gradually being reduced to the level of those developing countries with semicolonial economic structures. We cannot however make a turnabout in the sense of halting the further deterioration of export structure and gradually reducing the raw and reproduction materials share in exports by retaining the present state of territorialization in accumulation.

I think that for the Tito Uzice economy it is of vital importance that enough room is created for its further development and new development programs. This can be done by closer links with the industries raw materials and reproduction materials. It would, therefore, be good, Djuranovic added, if the new 5-year development programs result from these reproduction relations, from integration at the level of the entire country.

The economic stabilization program cannot be at all implemented, Djuranovic stressed, without a wide and intensified implementation of the process of association in reproduction, overcoming purchase and sale relations, and creating more qualitative socioeconomic relations through pooling together labor and resources. This is where our greatest potentials and reserves are. "If we succeed in pursuing this course, not in words but in practice and deeds, and in creating a new situation, I think we can be more optimistic about the way out of the economic crisis affecting us."

It is this aspect of the struggle for economic stabilization that we have not succeeded in achieving. "Municipal, republican, provincial, and other borders represent serious obstacles to our efforts to create a modern Yugoslav economy, capable of escaping this situation through high productivity, a higher level of association, and improved efficiency."

In this connection Djuranovic drew particular attention to the prolonged fall in the economic efficiency due to the fact that overall income increased at a slower rate than the costs of production, which is having a considerable effect on the rate of inflation.

For decades now we have been developing an autarchic economy burdened by numerous costs which should not affect modern industrial production. "It seems to me that we must fight for heightened sociopolitical awareness and deal resolutely, through ideopolitical and economic measures, with all obstacles and all those who are trying to preserve the status quo or find solutions for their own work organization, municipality, republic, or province by pursuing a short-sighted policy."

You have seen what is happening in the country as far as technological development is concerned, Djuranovic added. Despite the fact that in its technological development our country is lagging considerably behind the pace of the third technological revolution, we continue to insist on an autarchic technological development. Unless the situation changes radically, I doubt whether we will be able to create firm bases for the way out of the crisis.

The SFRY Presidency president today toured the first partisan work organization and the copper and aluminum mills in Sevojno. During his talks at the first partisan, Djuranovic expressed particular interest in the collective's social policy measures and stressed that these measures and the care of workers are also one of the ways in which to stimulate their work.

This evening Veselin Djuranovic is due to address the augmented economic-political aktiv of the Titovo Uzice municipality and region.

KOSOVO ASSEMBLY DEBATES BUDGET, EMIGRATION, CRIME

LD272115 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Summary] Pristina, 26 Mar (TANJUG) -- During today's session of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Assembly, the attention of the delegates was focused on three topics: provincial budget estimates, a report on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and a report on political and economic crime.

This year's Kosovo provincial budget will amount to 33.3 billion dinars which is up 41.6 percent from last year's budget. By and large the funds are provided from the supplementary resources of the federation (73.4 percent) while Kosovo's own resources will provide the remaining 26.6 percent. Rudi Resat, the provincial secretary for finance, warned that these resources are not adequate to meet all social and joint requirements and that for that reason they must be used economically and exclusively for the purposes as agreed by legislation, accords, and decisions.

The attention of the delegates focused, however, on the report on implementing assembly actions and measures to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. "The general consensus of opinion is, and this was confirmed in his introductory report by Refik Agaj, Executive Council member and provincial commission chairman dealing with this problem, that ideopolitical activity of the LC and of other organized forces, and also other measures by appropriate organs, have changed the situation decisively for the better. The opportunity for crude and open pressure by irredentists on the personalities and property of the Serbs and Montenegrins and for violating their constitutional rights and freedoms have been reduced. Relations are also improving in education, culture, and employment policy. Refik Agaj stressed that the battle of progressive forces against Albanian nationalism and irredentism has been won and that the politico-security situation is improving every day. This is reflected in the reduced number of Serbs and Montenegrins emigrating from Kosovo and on the restoration of the shaken intranational trust.

Nonetheless, the members of these nationalities are still leaving Kosovo. True, last year emigration was much lower as testified by the fact that, for example, 817 families and 4,300 individuals left in 1982, while 268 families and 2,780 individuals left in 1984."

It is also encouraging that the number of returnees is increasing. "So far, 1,660 members of these nationalities have returned to Kosovo, and of these, 500 have been reemployed. Last year alone about 1,000 people returned. This trend is continuing."

The problem of Serb and Montenegrin emigration has complicated other situations. "Refik Agaj observed that in this kind of psychological atmosphere Serb and Montenegrin nationalists, both in the province and outside it, have constantly added fuel to the fire to create an even deeper gulf of mistrust and insecurity. For 4 years now the situation created in Kosovo was used for nationalistic purposes by individual intellectuals, scholars, journalists, and clericalists who sniped at one another via certain public information media and magazines identifying themselves with the nation. All this, according to Agaj, produced an additional burden on the situation in Kosovo, especially regarding the psychological situation of the Serb and Montenegrin population, with the result that these consequences are still felt today and this motivates the Serbs and the Montenegrins to emigrate."

In the discussion held at separate sessions of the assembly chambers, delegates pointed out the complexity of the Serb and Montenegrin emigration problem, but they also pointed out positive and encouraging results. A polemical discussion arose at the session of the chamber of associated labor because of part of the speech by delegate Dusica Zoric who, after praising the commission's report and the efforts being made to halt this process, reiterated some of her well-known views. She first demanded that it should be more clearly stated which particular lecturers at Pristina University have undergone merely verbal differentiation and those who champion Serb and Montenegrin nationalism, and also that more should be said about the activity of the clergy. Pointing out the danger of relying on adopting decisions merely on the basis of majority votes in Kosovo, she stressed that insistance on knowing both languages as a prerequisite is unconstitutional. Advocating an equal number of students enrolled in both teaching languanges, Dusica Zoric noted that the number of students from the ranks of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities is declining, especially in those faculties which are in greater demand. Salih Nusi, representing the provincial executive council, disagreed with this view. He stressed that absolute equality has been ensured in the province with regard to the training and enrollment of students and pupils. Dusica Zoric's views were also rejected by other speakers in the discussion and Ibis Krasnici, quoting recent statistical data, judged that the number of Serbs employed in the social sector was higher than their share of the total national population structure in Kosovo. He also noted that in the years since the outbreak of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, the appropriate commissions have reexamined self-managing documents relating to employment and have found virtually no omissions in them.

Delegates' attention in the sociopolitical chamber was attracted in particular by the speech by Tomislav Sekulic, provincial executive council vice president. We are struggling in an organized way, he said, to apply the assembly measures aimed at halting the exodus of the Serbs and Montenegrins and we say that these conclusions are good and should not be changed. In spite of this we have not won the battle to halt this process and this makes one ask whether the existing measures aimed at halting emigration are adequate. I think, Sekulic noted, that they are not and that the provincial executive council should analyze the situation and propose additional measures. Sekulic also drew attention to the still existing cases of Serbs and Montenegrins who sell their farms and houses overnight at a high price.

At the end he said that the figure given for the number of people returning to Kosovo is not quite correct because, he said, only 40 percent of these people are genuine returnees. Refik Agaj disagreed with this last statement. He said that the commissions concerned record only the return of those people who have been away from Kosovo for over a year. At the end of the discussion, in which there were 15 speakers, delegates adopted, with certain additions, the report on adopting the measures aimed at halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo during the second half of this year.

At a joint session delegates also heard a report by Dr Veselj Ljatifi, provincial secretary for justice, on the situation regarding political and economic crime, prosecution policy, and punitive policy.

After itemizing the main forms of the nationalists' and irredentists' hostile activity, Ljatifi stated that charges have been brought against a total of 1,073 persons in the province in the period from 1981 to the middle of last year on the grounds of justified suspicion that they had committed political criminal acts. During the same 3 and 1/2-year period, 2,958 persons were punished in magistrates' courts for offenses of a political nature. Criminal charges were also brought against 250 of the latter after they were punished by the magistrates' courts.

The social breakdown of persons convicted for hostile activities is as follows: students, 37 percent; secondary school pupils, 22 percent; and workers and farm workers, about 6 percent.

Ljutifi went on to point out the justice organs' particular contribution in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and other hostile trends and nationalisms. The courts, in his view, have carried out the tasks and are increasingly expeditious and efficient, especially when the parties concerned are of different nationalities.

Economic crime and the theft and embezzlement of social property are also rising. For instance, in the course of last year alone 4,322 people were charged with criminal acts of economic crime. Ljutifi recalled the most drastic cases, such as the great robbery of silver concentrate at Trepca, arson in the Rosevac furniture works, and the recently discovered theft in the Podujevo agricultural cooperative. He also mentioned other economic offenses, unauthorized occupation of land, illicit trade and theft of timber, as well as other forms of attack on social property, which are also rising.

Delegates called for even more efficient work by the prosecution organs, the courts, and all other progressive forces of the province in the struggle against irredentism and all the forms of nationalism, as well as against all negative phenomena affecting the political and security situation and intranational and human relations.

At separate sessions of their chambers delegates adopted several reports on the work of the provincial organs and gave the "green light" to a number of legal measures.

BORBA SEES DANGER IN REEMERGING UNITARIANISM

AU270821 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 23-24 March on page 2 and on 25 March on page 5 carries a 3,600-word article by Ljubisa Ristovic, "Are We Threatened by the Specter of Unitarianism," which examines the danger of unitarianism in the SFRY.

"Judging by the emphasis in political speeches and some reports, unitarianism as an ideology of a time long past looms as a danger to our peoples and nationalities, regardless of the principles that, from the antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, has up to now, withstood the test of time," Ristovic says. He traces unitarianism back to the Yugoslav idea generted in the western parts of the country before World War I and finds that it was incorporated in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1919. Unitarianism was embraced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at that time, but rejected within 5 years. Afterwards there is "no program document, congress decision, resolution, or proclamation" that would indicate that "after a victorious revolution, the old Yugoslav unitarianism could be the ideological foundation, or in any form a part of the policy and practice of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia."

Ristovic notes that the program adopted at the Seventh LCY Congress in 1985 does not mention the term "unitarianism." He quotes Tito denouncing "bureaucratic-centralist and bureaucratic-particularist nationalism" in 1964. He says that "protagonists of bureaucratic-particularist centralism and separatism" in the late sixties "dragged out the old Yugoslav unitarianism that was defeated by the revolution and historically outdated, and perfidiously launched it into the orbit of public and political life."

"The alleged danger of unitarianism of the old Yugoslav type was then, and is now, only a cloak which, in essence, covers up an attack on the basic principles of self-management, brotherhood, and unity; it is a banner under which forces that have desired and desire a disintegration of Yugoslavia have gathered," Ristovic asserts.

"Experiences of the contemporary world show that integration is a predominant characteristic of political, economic, cultural, in short, civilized relations. Our reply to the danger of bureaucratic centralism and separatism is the increasingly stronger cultural, economic, social, and political disintegration, the closing within national, republican, and provincial borders, with fatal consequences for self-management and socialist social relations."

"Many public workers" point "explicitly or implicitly to the imagined danger of old Yugoslav unitarianism," Ristovic states, and peoples are classified as "burdened by unitarianism" or "constantly threatened" by it, which is an "anti-Marxist division."

Ristovic quotes the admission by Slovene writer Matej Bor that the Slovenes fear a socialist unitarianism. He wonders who could impose unitarianism on the Macedonians, who definitively became a nation only in Socialist Yugoslavia. "What can one then say about the highly organized Slovene nation?" Ristovic asks.

"Old Yugoslav unitarianism is outdated and defeated, but to tell the truth it does exist as a vestige of the dogmatized consciousness of the Comintern, a consciousness that had destructive effects in the Yugoslav communist movement; on it exists as a vestige of the bourgeois ideology which reduces the relations in Yugoslavia to Serbo-Croatian relations, which is only a sign that it has not learned even an elementary lesson from history."

"However, something has happened that causes concern. As a contemporary sarcastically observed: On these ruins of old Yugoslav unitarianism, polycentric unitarianism has arisen; if it does not bear all the old characteristics, it does possess the same destructive consequences.

Its protagonists are the national, republican, and provincial statist-bureaucratic structures that imposed themselves as the defenders of 'their own' nation, 'their own' capital, 'their own' power, 'their own' theory, 'their own' market, and 'their own' culture. The aim of their blows is everything with the attribution: Yugoslav, united , or common. The scope of this counterrevolution, which in essence is bureaucratic, runs from the negation of the Yugoslav idea and a falsification of history up to a covert and overt resistance to civilized communications among peoples and nationalities, the prospects of which are discussed in the LCY program."

Ristovic sees some aspects of this unitarianism in "internal migrations," "an arrogant and intolerant attitude toward citizens 'from other communities,'" cultural and language unitarianism," "discrimination in employment," and "emigration under pressure."

"The real danger," Ristovic concludes,is not of old Yugoslav unitarianism, but, "on the other side, of unitarianism which has dug in behind republican and provincial borders. One does not talk about it at all, and no scientific and political analysis of it has been carried out, which is certainly symptomatic."

REPUBLICAN-PROVINCIAL RELATIONSHIP QUESTIONED

AU271958 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 85 p 5

[V.P. report]

[Excerpts] A session of the Serbia Assembly Republican Social Council for Questions of the Social System yesterday discussed the implementation of the constitutional concept of the sociopolitical communities.

Milivoje Draskovic, president of the republican committee for legislation, spoke yesterday most clearly about relations between the provinces and the republic. He analyzed the definition according to which the provinces are "a consistuent element of the Federation and within the SR of Serbia." If the assessment is correct that practice has brought matters so far that the provinces differ from the republics practically in name only, something which has been confirmed by scientific works written in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Pristina, Draskovic said, then one must urgently find an answer to the question of whether the Constitution itself has caused such a development, or whether matters developed by passing the highest legal act of the republic and independently of it.

We are struggling against the irredentist slogan, "Kosovo -- republic," but has this slogan not turned into our constitutional and legal reality? Draskovic asked. He repeated the assessment that the provinces have become federal units almost equal to the republics. This has led to absurd situations, such as the situation in the assembly where delegates from the provinces participate in regulating questions which concern only the territory of Serbia "proper," or when provincial cadres elect the leadership of Serbia, but the republican ones have no view of how the provincial leaderships are elected.

The conclusions of yesterday's session, which was a "repeat performance" of the previous discussions, will be submitted by the republican council to the Federal Council in due time.